

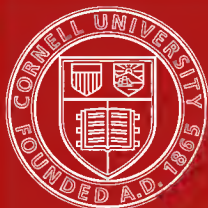
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The
New Poland



C. O. Cameron



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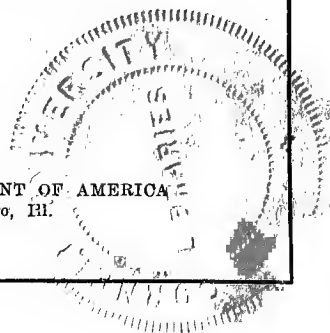
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Poland's Historic Stand for Democracy and Liberty

A NEW Great Power of Democracy is looming up on the war-scarred frontiers of the three fallen empires of Prussia, Russia and Austria.

The new Great Power is Poland—a new government but an old nation, a kingdom-republic older in history than Prussia or Russia or Austria.

Her old independent government was slowly crushed to death about 125 years ago by the conspiracies of the Hohenzollerns, the Hapsburgs and the Romanoffs.

But though her government was crushed, though her elected kings were dethroned and her parliaments silenced, though heroic leaders were martyred or exiled, her people have never surrendered their individuality to the conquerors. Under the oppression of Czars and Kaisers the Poles have clung to their own language, their traditions of democracy, and to their undying hope that the day of deliverance would come.

The day of deliverance has now come indeed, when the freemen of Poland will take their place among the republics of the world.

The time came when the whole world was weary of Czars and Kaisers, just as Poland had long been weary of them. The time came when the world was prepared for the ideals of democracy for which ancient Poland stood, which her heroes died to maintain.

And when the war finally brought deliverance to the captive nation, the long-oppressed people were found prepared and ready to assume the burden of self-government. They have been trained in a school of liberty through a thousand years of glory, and they have kept the faith of democracy through two centuries of oppression.

In one respect there is no story like this story, no history like the history of Poland. Everything in her past has a significance for the present and the future. Everything developing in the present readjustment in Europe is better understood by a study of Poland's past.

For Poland is a land with an Interrupted History. During many generations she has been kept from the great state of Europe. Now she reappears, as if out of prison, to resume the noble role she maintained in mightier centuries, and to march among modern nations in the spirit of her ancient chivalry.

The Old Land of Freemen

THE hopes of future Poland rest in the spirit of the historic past. What we have witnessed in her is the carrying forward of principles of freedom which she sought in vain to work out in old ages of force and blood.

The Poles were valiant in war, but never aggressors. They sought to work out principles of human happiness and increasing democracy, while Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns and Romanoffs and the dynasty of Sweden plotted restlessly for more empire.

Poland was a nation traveling peaceably on her way, defending herself, defending Prussia and Austria and Russia and all Europe at times, but who finally fell among thieves and was despoiled.

We shall see the thieves deprived of their booty, we shall see the defrauded nation rehabilitated. To know what this shall mean we must consider what the records of Poland's glory reveal.

The first faint records of life in what is now Poland, and what is to be Poland, show a people dwelling in communities or cities, but each freeman in his own house.

This individualism of the freemen is a striking feature of the oldest Polish life. Some of the Slavic peoples dwelt in community houses like vast tenements. The Pole always maintained his individual family life.

This capacity for individualism continues to this day a marked trait of the Polish people. The Polish immigrant to America dwells each by himself. In many Polish rooming houses each roomer has his own account at the grocer. There never was in Polish history an effort by prince or king to crush out the individual life.

The Poles developed a notion of individual liberty which jealous kings were able to crush by their armies of conscripts. Nevertheless, these ideals are the ideals for which all democracies stand today.

The sufferings of Poland at the hands of surrounding empires was not her fault. It was due to her ideals. Left to herself in the past, as she will be in the future, Poland would have developed a freedom and a culture to make the world marvel. Her sorrows and tribulations were due wholly to the constant conspiracies of Russian, Prussian, Saxon, Swedish and Austrian rulers to interfere with her internal liberties, and break her strength among the nations.

Means Much to All Americans

THE past sufferings and the future hopes of this splendid people mean much to all Americans. For we and the Poles, even the Poles in their own land under Russian or Teutonic oppression, have common heroes.

Their Thaddeus Kosciuszko, hero of the great revolt of the last decade of the eighteenth century. Kosciuszko, in whose honor a mound of earth was raised at Cracow from soils brought from every Polish battlefield, was the same Kosciuszko who served as an aide to Washington, and whom Washington described as "the ideal soldier of liberty."

Their Count Casimir Pulaski, who fought in vain for Polish freedom in 1768, escaped to America to fight for the independence of the colonies, and after serving at Brandywine and on other fields, was mortally wounded in fighting at Savannah as a general in the American army.

This Count Pulaski was the forerunner of many other Poles who have died for this republic. The Civil War had soldiers whose fathers fled from Austria in the thirties, and from Germany in 1848, while many sons of the Great Migration of 1880 fought in the Spanish war and in this last war.

So while we as American children read of Kosciuszko and Pulaski as of Lafayette, the Poles also read of these men in their European achievements. Everyone knows that Lafayette and Franklin have proved the great ties of union between America and France—these men are the common heroes of both republics. So it is with Kosciuszko and Pulaski. The Poles in remotest Poland know how these heroes loved America.

Nor is this all. Niemcewicz, the beloved Polish patriotic his-

torian, the biographer of Kosciuszko, wrote also for his own people a biography of Washington, whom he knew in America during our Revolution. So the name of our first President is enshrined in a Polish classic. The student of Polish history may read of Washington as of Casimir the Great or John Sobieski.

The Pole in remotest Poland thus looks upon the Americans as a people morally akin to him. We also can look upon these old champions of liberty as our own comrades and kinsmen in humanity's long battle for freedom. It needs only a little consideration of the great achievements of the past to make us appreciate how the spirit of Old Poland and of New Poland is also the spirit of America.

The Unrecorded Slavic Empires

THE Slavic nations, including Russians, Poles, Bohemians, Ukrainians, Serbs, Bulgars, Slovenians, etc., seem once to have spread much farther into western Europe than they do today. In the days before recorded history there were great struggles and wars between the same Teutons and Slavs who have battled before our eyes during the past four years.

The Slavs, in different groups, once held such well-known Teutonic cities as Berlin, Vienna, Jena, Leipzig. Potsdam is a Slavic name, so is Pomerania. But long before written history, long before the influence of missionaries brought regular records, the different Slavic peoples had taken some definite form. Some of the Slavic nations then in existence, like the Lusatians and the Polabish people, were later overwhelmed by Teutonic absorption, which sought in vain to absorb the Poles and Bohemians.

So as early as the eighth and ninth centuries of the Christian era there are traces of a definite nationality in "the Plain" or "Pole," the vast rich level land spreading about the River Vistula.

This national stock was divided into tribes, each with tribal gods and spirits, chiefly gods of the trees and harvests and the storm. Here is where the Poles and Poland emerge into history just at the same time that the successors of Charlemagne are laying the foundations of France and Germany and Italy, and while England is taking new unity under the kings of Wessex.

Now even in that far past the character of the Pole was revealed. He was never an aggressive warrior. He was happy to let his neighbor pray to his own tribal gods, while he prays to his own. His society was based upon the freeman. Individual vengeance was provided in his law.

Centuries later a Bohemian poet described the Slavs as "dove-blooded." Dove-blooded in a sense: peace-loving, home-loving, farm-loving, the Poles of that old time were.

We can see the character of the old time Pole revealed in his descendant of today. He still is ready to fight for defense, for the liberty of Poland and other lands—yet how Poland has rejoiced in the coming of peace! The Poles have never mingled in our more aggressive activities to the same extent as other nations, yet they gave the largest proportion of volunteers to the American army when democracy was to be saved.

Ages of Battle Are Begun

THE reader of Polish history will remain convinced of one thrilling fact.

That is, that if the Poles had been left undisturbed on their acres, they might never have become warriors at all. Several times, when the Poles made war, they had previously been so peaceful that the battlefield saw them with no arms but scythes and other implements of peace.

It was outside attack that developed the great war record of Poland, outside attack and the demand of her chivalry that she protect Christendom in many hours of peril.

Today, as the shadowy lines of Great Poland again loom up in eastern Europe, many are asking, "What will be the spirit of this new Great Power?" There is a shadowy outline drawn of a great level land, enriched by many navigable rivers and crossed by old highways and modern railroads, a country of 110,000 square miles and 30,000,000 inhabitants.

We shall then create another Great Power—will it be a great power for good or for evil? Will it be a force for all humanity, or merely a selfish force?

The answer must be sought in the ancient history of Poland's greatness.

Until the rise of the American republic there was no history like hers. It was a history of aggrandizement chiefly by peaceful annexation, by states seeking admission. But at all times her power was exerted to strike at tyrants, or to beat back invaders.

She was not a conquering oppressor. In fact, for many weary centuries, while sheltered nations grew to power in entrenched Europe, Poland stood at the barrier of the east and spent her blood and strength holding the Tartar and the Turk from the western lands.

If Poland in those dim ages could develop a character that won her the title of "The Knight Among Nations," what will she develop in a modern age of enlightenment and national honor?

The real truth is that the old ideals of Poland were too fine and true for those bloody centuries. It required the moral strength of modern enlightenment to bring Poland to the place where she can work out her own noble traditions, and be appreciated by a modern world.

Baptized in Fire

THE greatest decision in the history of Poland was in her choice of a form of Christian faith. In the ninth century Russia, under St. Vladimir, embraced the Greek church. In the same century Emperor Otto the First, of the Holy Roman empire, was seen making war on all the lands round about. He hurled a body of Teutonic warriors against the pagan Poles, thus making the first clear record of the old, old strife between Slav and Teuton.

Mieszko, or Mieczyslaw the First, was then leader of the Polish people. He was the leader in some ancient and Slavic sense, and the fruit of his leadership was to lead Poland into the western family of nations instead of the eastern. He was the first Polish king to accept the spreading Christian faith, and he accepted it from Roman Catholic missionaries.

Thus a definite line of difference was drawn between the Russian Vladimir at Kieff and the Polish Mieszko in his new capital at Gniezno. The decision made Poland western. It gave her national

soul a western outlook. It brought up her individual citizens in touch with the active powers of Europe.

The fruits of this were rich and everywhere abundant. Poland had a chain of great universities when Russia scarcely had schools. And Poland was a limited monarchy centuries ago, while Russia could not limit the Czar until she dethroned him.

Mieszko felt the grim and ruthless power of the Emperor Otto and his Teutonic knights. So, though the Teutonic invaders were withdrawn after the pagan ruler embraced Christianity, Mieszko nevertheless bowed to the gigantic German power. He was therefore given the title of Duke of Poland, the first of a series of Polish rulers, dukes and kings, who will be succeeded in our day by presidents of Poland.

Here appears one of the first great surprises of Polish history. Poland was first a formless and unorganized land of farmers praying to local idols and spirits.

Then, all at once, in the course of a few splendid years, she became organized into military departments, and into ecclesiastical dioceses. Suddenly she saw her dove-cote towns divided among feudal castellans or barons. Immigrant monks from France, England and Italy laid the foundations of a new agriculture. With the development of the country came an influx of German labor on the feudal estates, and German residents in the cities. Poland suddenly marched forward to a place of power among nations.

This all had its effect when Poland's first great warrior king, Boleslaw the First, son of Mieszko the First, took the throne. He gained first the full inheritance of his father, then he fought to establish Poland among the powers. He pushed his arms triumphantly to the conquest of Pomerania and the Baltic shore, swept far into Russia, and temporarily gained Bohemia.

These wars were fought nearly 1,000 years ago, yet they were the wars of a free people against Kaiserism, and against German Kaisers or Emperors. This recent war has brought the western world very late into conflict with the two ancient enemies of Poland, Germany and Turkey. Many of the old battles of the tenth and eleventh centuries had war-notes which might have been sounded anywhere from Belgium to Mesopotamia during the past four years.

Boleslaw the First was offered an early alliance with Germany, as a subordinate king. This was in the year 1000. His answer

was a strangely typical instance of Polish independence. Boleslaw did not take the title from the hand of the German Kaiser of that Holy Roman Empire. But 24 years later he called the princes and prelates together at Gniezno, and there was crowned king by his own decree. Thereafter he refused to acknowledge any subordinate duty to the Emperors.

The Sad Free Kingdom

THE self-crowning of Boleslaw was typical of the Polish spirit, even in the face of many perils. There was in this a strange, unbelievable daring. The Polish country, an open land, was surrounded by enemies, Teutonic and Slavic. It was exposed to the advancing, threatening rush of Tartar tribes from the eastern steppes. Amalgamation with the Holy Roman Empire might seem a natural preservative policy.

But it was part of Poland's destiny always to cling to her own individuality, and she did this from the tenth century to the twentieth.

Later articles in this series will set forth some of the later great events in the advancing history of Poland. What Americans should understand and appreciate, what thoughtful students of history the world over must appreciate, is the noble and steadfast spirit that governs that history. We come to appreciate that Poland, even when her institutions appeared ancient, had a spirit of freedom which we are proud to call modern.

Boleslaw was indeed more of the type of conqueror than most Polish kings. But that was in the first century of his nation's emergence from barbarism. The later heroes of Poland are often found sword in hand, but it is a defensive sword.

The spirit of her patriotism is that of a nation often bruised by ruffian empires, stricken to the earth in wars of alien conquest, but rising with the patient defiance of her patriotic hymn, "Poland Is Not Yet Lost."

The moral grandeur of her old ideals can be seen in her early traditions. The legends of many nations trace their kings to descent from the sun or the gods. The Polish tradition was more like a story out of the Scriptures. The legend was that the first

king, Piast, when a poor man, entertained two strangers one night in his peasant cottage. In the morning it was revealed that his visitors were angels, and that for his hospitality he was to be crowned the ruler of the land. The dynasty was founded not in a boasted record of blood, but in a tradition of benevolence. Nothing in Polish history is so illustrative of the Polish temperament as this old legend. Only a people of great worth can produce a fiction of noble action.

The story of Piast the Peasant is really like an allegory of all Poland's story. Poland has never been a rich nation, but she has been noble and generous and brave. Great misfortunes were hers after the reign of Boleslaw. Divisions split the kingdom, internal strife distressed the people, Tartar hordes swept through Russia into Poland, and Poland in her suffering held them back from countries further west.

In the midst of these sorrows outside interference in Poland's internal affairs never ceased, nor did it end until the last partition of the country. In the eleventh century it took the efforts of a series of kings to secure the rights of succession to the throne to the eldest son. The old Polish ducal law had been that every patrimony must be divided. Neighboring powers wanted this law kept by the princes so that Poland's kings would always divide the country, and thus the land would steadily diminish into smaller and smaller portions.

However, Casimir the Great succeeded finally in establishing a regular succession, an undivided inheritance.

When he had done this, it could have been noted that all the distresses of the country had not halted the general advance of the people toward liberty.

The Polish liberty of those early centuries was not like ours in statute. But it was strangely like our liberty in its spirit. One of the reasons, possibly, why Poland has always attracted Americans, and America is so dear a name to the Poles, is this likeness of spirit.

Early Polish life, like early American life, included provision for slaves. But there was a steady approximation to greater liberty. And the honored heroes of Poland are not slave-makers like William the Conqueror, but rather liberators of serfs, like Kosciuszko. Thus America honors Abraham Lincoln more than Cortez.

The best study of Poland's real policy of liberty, her early doctrine of "self determination," is found by leaving Boleslaw and the beginnings of her greatness, and advancing to the period in the fifteen and sixteenth centuries, when Poland became the largest state in Europe.

After the Tartar invasion had been swept away, Conrad of Poland forgot the early dangers from the German arms, and himself invited the German Knights of the Cross to settle in his dominions. The avowed task of these knights, who settled on the coasts of the Baltic, was partly helping to convert the pagan Lettish tribes. But the knightly forces grew into an aggressive temporal organization.

The Polish dukes showed no advanced fear of the Teutonic knights, until all at once these swordsmen rushed out of their assigned territories and battled successfully to wrest from Poland sections of the present East and West Prussia.

They then struck to the south. But by this time Wladislaw, king of Poland, had re-united his forces and the divided country, and was able to defeat them and drive them back.

Casimir the Great

WLADISLAW died in 1332. Then arose his son, Casimir the Great, who overwhelmed the plans of the Teutonic Knights completely. For 37 years he labored to consolidate the Polish state.

He left her strong and united, able to laugh at German plots and intrigue, and ready for her great territorial era.

Casimir the Great was the only Polish monarch who was called "the Great," and this because he built cities of marble in place of huts of wood or rushes. He left no son, so the throne went to his son-in-law, Louis of Hungary. His daughter, St. Hedwig, succeeded Louis on the throne. In 1386 the queen married Jagellon of Lithuania, and founded a new dynasty in Poland.

This union of Lithuania and Poland, made more and more complete and solid during two centuries, has always been a proud incident in the history of Poland.

The Poles are proud of their Lithuanian writers, such as Mickiewicz and Sienkiewicz, and of the patriotic Lithuanian Kosciuszko. They are proud that they were able to effect a union with a nation speaking a separate language and worshipping in a different church. To this day in America it is common to see the arms of Lithuania and the arms of Poland both emblazoned over a Polish church or place of assembly.

But recent debates between these old allies show how near to the present time are these events of the past. There is a strong movement in Lithuania for complete independence of Poland under the peace treaty. Lithuanians are found demanding "absolute self-determination."

Now, though the Poles would like to have as large a country as possible, it is expected that they will not in any way contest the right of Lithuania to form her own republic, if she wishes. The self-determination of small nations, the freedom of union on the part of separate nationalities, is treasured by the Poles today as it was by St. Hedwig.

It required two centuries and many conventions to cement the union between Poland and Lithuania. But in the meantime there had been other accretions to the Polish territory—West Prussia, Pomerania, Livonia, Courland.

In each of these cases there was no war of conquest, but a voluntary application by the affected states for a union with the Polish state. Family connections made possible temporary unions between Poland and Hungary, but none of these continued.

No state, until America arose, ever grew so great without armed conquest as Poland became. She arose to this dignity and strength in the teeth of opposition and envy, without meddling with other nations, and by the pure force of her own popular ideas. And her kings ruled over different nationalities and different languages by the force of moral authority. It is true that in the next few centuries feuds among the nobles developed, aided by the conspiracies of meddling outside monarchs. But Poland in her most glorious period ruled by the voluntary co-operation of all her citizens.

Heritages of Freedom

THE present day Pole or Polish-American knows these things, though they are strange to Americans. The Polish soldier, whether fighting in France, or in Russia, or in any other country, has not been fighting for "liberty" of any vague or hazy sort. He has not been fighting for liberty for himself or his own nation alone.

He has been fighting for the long-submerged but still vitalized ideals of the old Polish freedom, singularly like the doctrines laid down by the Wilsons, and the Lloyd Georges, and the Clemenceaus of the present day.

The current newspapers have printed a report from Poland which throws a fascinating sidelight on the ancient Polish liberties. A Jewish leader in Poland has declared that the Jews will ask there for autonomy in their own communities and for separate courts.

It might seem a startling thing for representatives of one religion to ask autonomy and separate courts.

But the fact is that in the old days of Polish liberty, Jewish citizens did have separate autonomous districts and separate courts. These demands of one section of the present population of Poland fall within the liberal limits of the old Polish constitution.

Thus in many ways it can be seen that the Polish people, now about to resume their own self-government, are fortified by the noblest traditions and principles of human liberty. They are entering on no new experiment, like a Russian republic or a Turkish limited monarchy. The oppression the Poles have suffered has been foreign, the liberty they hope to enjoy has always been their own.

The nation the United States has helped to set free is a nation whose sons helped to set us free. It is a nation which had developed doctrines of freedom before the Mayflower landed at Plymouth, before the founding of Jamestown.

So the American nation, or any other liberty-loving people, can be sure that the spirit of the old Polish heroes of freedom still rules. There are thousands of glorious proofs of this enduring spirit, and some of its manifestations will be shown in later articles.

Whether any particular clause of the old Polish order is adopted, such as the local autonomy of religious communities, is yet to be decided.

But it is clear that the spirit of religious liberty, of personal liberty, of social and individual justice, as caught from the inspiration of the past, and as taught by the example of present day thriving democracies, will rule throughout the new dominion of the free Polish people.

Polish Undying Passion for Liberty Shown in Modern and Ancient Heroism

FREE Poland will very soon assume her place in the world's great sisterhood of republics.

The future success of the statesmen and people of Free Poland is of vital interest and vital importance to all Americans, and to all the free peoples of the world.

Humanity itself is at stake in the success of all the oppressed democracies which have been freed by the downfall of autocracy. For unless these young republics stand firm, holding fast their popular liberties, the war will seem to have been waged in vain.

But we have two grand assurances that Free Poland will stand the test, and will prove worthy of a high place in the council of free nations.

One great assurance is in the Past, in the mighty history of Old Poland's wars for freedom, which she fought until her very life-blood was drained for the cause of liberty.

The second great assurance is in the Present, in the heroic record of Polish troops battling for democracy on every front in the Great War. These showed their clear inheritance of the old liberty-loving blood of Poland.

How the Sons Proved Worthy

THE sorrows and sufferings of Poland during the past two centuries drove many of her sons into exile in far-away lands.

But when the trumpets blew for the Great War there was thrilling unanimity among the sons of those exiles, who arose in England, France, Switzerland, the United States, Canada and other countries and rushed to the standards of Democracy.

In our own country hundreds of thousands of Polish descent enrolled under the American flag. In addition, there were thousands of Poles not citizens, or born in enemy countries, or outside the American enlistment ages, who enrolled here in the Polish army for service in France.

Just as Thaddeus Kosciuszko crossed the wide ocean to fight for the liberty of America, so these Poles crossed the ocean again to fight for freedom in France. And the records of the war shine with testimony that the spirit of Kosciuszko's soldiers is as imperishable as their love of liberty.

Our American cities recently saw a group of 13 soldiers, in the blue of the Polish army, whose very presence bore testimony to the unquenchable Polish spirit. These were 12 soldiers of the Polish army, every one of whom had volunteered from America. Their leader was the French-born son of a Polish father and a French mother.

The leader, still in his early twenties, was scarred with 23 wounds. He had received 22 wounds, and his breast was ablaze with decorations, when he hurried back to the front, and his leg was carried away by a cannon ball. He cried, in his native French and in the spirit of his ancestral country, "Vive la Pologne!" or "Long live Poland," as he fell unconscious on the roaring field.

Such was the leader. And what of his 12 companions, who came from this country which is so fond of peace? Every one of those young men had at least the Croix de Guerre, for distinguished valor on the field. Every one had been wounded. And every one, while rejoicing in the advent of peace, rejoiced also that he had had his part in the great work.

The Undying Aspiration

WHAT was the reason for this? The reason furnishes our second great assurance that Free Poland will deserve her place among the world's democracies. That reason is found in Poland's past, in her long, long war for democracy and civilization, the war of a thousand years.

These young men were the sons of Polish exiles. The grandfather of one of them had fallen in a Polish revolt in 1863. Another traced a proud descent to a hero of Kosciuszko's army of peasants.

Whether born in America or in France, in England or Australia, the sons of Polish freemen are all born to the same passion for liberty. They are never warlike, never aggressive, they seldom are

found among professional soldiers or students at military academies, yet none of all the free peoples will fight more bravely for a cause of justice than these pacific men.

We all know the future of the Polish people is vital to our American liberties, and to all human liberties. But in the same way the past history of this people is charged with significance for our history.

This was never appreciated until the Great War revealed the manifold meaning of that history.

This Great War has thrillingly awakened every American to realize that the history of every nation is really part of our own. Poland, remote among her plains and rivers, with her grandest work achieved before America became a nation, could have given us from her bleeding past some tremendous warnings of the Teutonic peril, long before we saw that peril in drowned ships, and in notes announcing ruthless war.

What Poland Could Have Told

THE Great War itself was a baffling, maddening mystery to peaceable Americans who had studied only the history of Anglo-Saxon and Latin countries. These countries did not know what Poland could tell of Hapsburg and Hohenzollern ambitions, Hohenzollern and Hapsburg plots against free and peaceful peoples.

The neglected history of Poland could have served as a book of lurid prophecy to warn all free peoples of the menace to human liberty in Berlin and Vienna.

The neglected history of Poland, the unheard outcries of her agonized inhabitants, should have warned the whole world of the later "frightfulness" and "ruthlessness" in Belgium. For all that Belgium has learned in four years Poland has known for more than a century. And the "mad imperial ambition" of Wilhelm II, so astounding to western Europe, must seem a familiar tale to Polish school children who know how their noble republic was torn asunder by the plots of Frederick the Great.

How Poland Saved Europe

POLAND can no longer count her burned cities and her martyred citizens in these many years of oppression. And even in this past war, while the sufferings of Belgium were made known to all humanity through open English cables, the agonies of Poland under German rule or German invasion were veiled by intervening battlefields, and hushed into silence by the roar of the two war fronts.

The sufferings of Poland, the universal death of little children, starving of sick men and women, depopulation of cities, went on far from the sight of our sympathetic eyes, hidden by the smoke and flame of a burning world.

How terrible must have been Poland's sufferings in this war was shown when Paderewski declared:

"No children under ten are left alive in the Polish war zone!

"There are now no classes left in Poland. There is now only one class, the poor."

But though Poland has had greater suffering than most nations in this war and before this war, her people have doubtless rejoiced more than others in the greatness of the world's deliverance. Americans of Polish blood, exiles and sons and grandsons of exiles, have sorrowed deeply but have deeply rejoiced.

For this same neglected history of Poland, which could have warned the world of the Teutonic peril, of ruthlessness and frightfulness, could also have assured the world by past triumphs of the eventual victory of democracy.

Poland, the beautiful, imperishable Democracy, could point to a score of grassgrown battlefields, and say:

"Here is another place where my brave sons rallied from their peaceful occupations, and fought for democracy, and won, when perhaps the peoples of western Europe never dreamed that the liberty of all mankind was in danger!"

The Knight Among Nations

LOOKING upon this now-unveiled Polish history, looking on it as Polish children have looked upon it for so long, we see for the first time the lessons which have inspired the Polish heroes of the Great War. We realize, with humility and with great gratitude to the dead, that we have entered the stage in a later act in a very old drama, which had great scenes of battle before America was first disclosed to the eyes of Columbus.

We rejoice that the world is delivered from Kaiserism in 1918. This helps us to appreciate how Poland delivered the world from Kaiserism and Teutonism in former centuries.

By a strange act of laggard world-justice, Poland is delivered from German captivity by the very western nations which she saved from German captivity in the years when Poland was a great power. Those were the ages when Poland was the Knight Among Nations, the chivalrous deliverer and protector of all.

Gruenwald, Tannenberg

POLAND'S first great struggle with Kaiserism was a struggle with the Hohenstaufen kings of Germany, who usually became also Emperors or Kaisers of the Holy Roman Empire. Repeatedly these German Kaisers of that age sought to compel Poland to obedience as a vassal state, because they saw beyond Poland the vast steppes of submissive Russia, which in 1318 and in 1918 were alluring realms for land-greedy Germanic rulers.

Boleslaw III met the issue in battle at Breslau with Kaiser Henry V, and routed him and his hosts. A century later the greatest of the Hohenstaufens, Frederick Barbarossa, marched into Poland, but his expedition was ruined by the craft and skill of Boleslaw IV. The German Kaiserism was temporarily repulsed, but the Teutonic Knights began to show a new menace, the infant but furious menace of Prussianism.

The citation of old history might be wearisome if it were not for the intimate family connection with the most recent world events.

The Teutonic Knights were at first an order of knightly missionaries, invited into the Polish regions on the Baltic to convert the pagan Letts. They soon ceased missionary activity and built up a powerful armed state, which grew in the course of later centuries into the kingdom of Prussia.

But if it had not been for Poland's faithfulness to civilization in her days of might, this Prussian state would have been a great power centuries before Frederick the Great, and long before Europe was able to withstand her.

The chivalry of the Knight Among Nations was the only force that could meet the menace of the Teutonic Knights. This is what saved Europe from the earlier Prussianization. The struggle was one which the world never could have appreciated until the vast Prussianizing schemes of the present century were revealed to an outraged world.

At one time, while the Teutonic Knights were gaining more and more territory in the Polish dominions, it looked as if Poland was doomed to be Germanized. Teutonic immigration was enormous. Agents, spies, intriguers, plotters, Germanizers all, were everywhere. Wladislaw Lokietek nevertheless rallied the Polish people to give the Teutonic Knights a great check. However, Casimir the Great, working to unify the Polish people within, made territorial concessions to the Teutonic Knights.

Wladislaw Lokietek made an alliance with Lithuania against the Knights. The Teutons strove to divide and break this alliance, as they are even today striving to break Lithuania and Poland apart. But all the Teuton conspiracies of that day failed, the two lands merged into a dual alliance, and at Tannenberg in 1410 they broke the power of the Teutonic Knights in one terrific battle.

Poland and Lithuania were saved. Europe was saved. Western Europe did not realize until 1914 the degree of its deliverance. But a debt was incurred which shall never be fully paid until Poland has enjoyed centuries of her new liberty which Tannenberg made possible.

Poland's Ten Centuries of Democracy Ended by Plots of Czars and Kaisers

IGNACE JAN PADEREWSKI, the Polish master musician whom the war has revealed as an eloquent leader of the best thought of Free Poland, made an illuminating declaration before the All Poland convention held in Detroit last August:

"It is superfluous to explain to Poles the principles and ideals of America. They know these principles well, for they have been following them for one thousand years!"

This revelation of the strength of ancient liberties in the Polish Constitution should be understood in the light of a famous prophecy by the Polish author Buszczyński:

"The role of the Poles among the free peoples of the earth has been interrupted—but not ended!"

The living descendants of Polish freemen today know that in former centuries their kingdom-republic was a leader of liberty. They know that the old passion for liberty has never died, even through many generations of oppression.

Therefore the world can be assured that the New Poland of the future will not merely be democratic, but will take her place as an advanced leader of democracy. Free Poland will lead the nations of the future, as she led them in the past, in the great march of world-wide liberty.

The Ancient Constitution

THIS is no mere national dream. The people of Poland itself, or the American descendants of Polish heroes, can be as certain of the future policy of the Polish Republic as Americans can be of the continued liberty of our own beloved land.

For when Poland lost her liberty, she did not lose her soul. She did not lose her patriots, her statesmen, her thinkers. Her sons have continued to study, earnestly and zealously, the shining pages of her past history.

They have studied that history while in prison in Siberia, while in refuge homes in Switzerland or Britain, while fighting in armies of liberty in all corners of the world. And when Poland's own statesmen again take their seats in a free parliament to frame the fundamental law of their country, they will have the illumination shed by that past history, and by the work of all the statesmen since the last partition.

The sons of Poland have worked on this task for all the 130 years since independence was lost. They have felt sure that in time Providence would restore their despoiled lands. They wished to see their people prepared for that day of great rejoicing. They wished to see Poland ready to assume a foremost place among peoples wholly free.

The time has about come. And when the democracies of the world at their peace table restore Poland to her place, she will enter the sisterhood of republics with clear vision and with a prepared national conscience.

The Past and the Future

THIS is what explains the known devotion of the Polish citizen to Polish history. He reads these records to keep his own heart true to the spirit of his ancestors.

He would not follow the letter of ancient regulations, any more than modern Americans would adopt the first Constitution of the United States, without its amendments. But he will keep the free spirit of the old times, just as we rejoice to maintain the spirit of the Continental Congress.

This is the inspiration of Polish history to all of Polish blood. This is what makes the Pole in America so ready as a disciple of Americanism, so valuable as an addition to our democracy. This is why men of Polish blood will fight for this country as the old peasants of the Vistula fought for their farms.

Treasured Inheritances

THE old records of the kingdom-republic of Poland have their priceless documents, their sacred pages.

Some of these are as precious as the parchments of Magna Charta in the history of Anglo-Saxon liberty.

Magna Charta, signed by King John at Runnymede in 1215, belonged to the old age of feudalism. But it contained the deathless seed of liberty, the seed of all the liberty we now possess. Some of these old statutes of Poland are likewise feudal, but they contain the great principles of human justice.

These old statutes likewise proved their power. There never was in Poland such an era of autocracy as England saw under Henry VIII, France under Louis XIV, or Germany under the Hohenzollern Kaisers.

As far back as 1180, in the reign of Casimir the Just of Poland, nine years before Richard Lion Heart had succeeded Henry II as King of England, a council was held at Lenczyca. This Polish council was called to impose restrictions on the power of the monarch.

In England, King Henry reigned, then Richard Lion Heart became king, then King John was crowned, and it was not until 1215, thirty-five years after the council in Lenczyca, that the king of England accepted the restrictions on his power laid down in Magna Charta.

That same Polish council was the germ of the later Polish senate. It has long been honored in Polish history, because it laid down the principle that every freeman should have "full right of person and possession." The rights of freemen are also a golden section in the English Magna Charta.

The Broader Freedom

IN 1331 King Wladislaw Lokietek, famous for his alliance with Lithuania and his battles against the Teutonic Knights, called a council in Checiny.

It had not been unusual for the king to call conferences of

higher nobles and clergy. But Wladislaw called in all the holders of land, and made them a part of his council. He did not go so far as a modern representative government, but he went far ahead of the thought of his time. In those early centuries the nobility, greater and lesser, were taken as the representatives of the whole people. So the first Diet of Checiny was intended as representative government.

Let enough history be cited to show the continuing spirit of the Polish state. We can understand better why that history of an old kingdom is still inspiring, even to men and women of Polish descent born in republican America or republican France or democratic Britain.

Seventy years before Columbus sailed to the discovery of America, the nobles imposed a new limitation on the sovereign. The property of nobles was recognized as inviolate. And the nobles in Poland were not a small and limited class, but a large representative body including one-eighth of the entire population.

The law of inviolable property is called the "Czerwinski privilege." Eight years afterward a law was passed to restrict the power of the crown to make arrests. This law declared that "No one shall be imprisoned unless condemned by law," that is, without a legal warrant. This is regarded as the Polish version of the great legal principle of the Habeas Corpus act. The Poles also worked out their own version of the English saying, "A man's house is his castle."

The freedom of Poland grew steadily, like the liberty of England. Each century was fuller of liberty than the last. Some students of history in past years shook their heads over the freedom of Poland. They declared that if Poland had not been so free, if the kings had been autocrats, Poland would not have been dismembered.

But today we know that it was better for Poland to love freedom. If her people had not been inspired to love liberty, they could not have kept their national hopes alive and aflame through these years of oppression. And Poland is now fit for freedom, prepared to join the free democracies of the world, because of the foundations laid in the old ages.

Election of Kings

THE security of British liberty under her kings is due to the principle that the king reigns by the will of Parliament. It is said of the English king or queen that he "reigns but does not rule." Centuries ago this very thing was said of the king of Poland, in the Latin of the time: "Regnat, sed non imperat." And centuries ago it was an established principle in Poland that the king ruled by the will of the people; expressed by the voting nobles, and not by mere hereditary succession.

The crown did go from father to son when the son seemed worthy. But the Polish nobles with great freedom turned aside from family to family. They even went abroad, to Hungary, to France, for kings or queens. Some of the greatest of the Polish kings, like King John Sobieski and King Stanislaw Leszczynski, were born as nobles, and were elected to the kingship. In three generations the Poniatowski family rose from the rank of gentry to that of senator and then to royalty.

In later centuries of Polish history the elections were doubtful contests whose outcome none could predict. The enemies of Poland, writing in autocratic countries, have condemned this lack of certainty. But to a modern democracy, or to a modern Pole planning the future democracy of his country, these old records are full of inspiration.

In one election, several centuries ago, 200,000 nobles voted on the kingship. In 1848, in the French republic, the qualifications of voters were so restricted that there were fewer actual ballots for president than the Polish kingdom-republic had seen cast for the royal office.

The Meaning of History

THESE old records of fact from the statute books of the past are full of living significance for all free nations.

We know that no country in the eighteenth century was as free as the democracies of the twentieth. But we know that in the eighteenth century and long before, Poland was one of the

freest lands on earth. We know that if the Poles had been left to themselves, they would have worked out the same great principles of freedom in which we rejoice.

*1791, 1831,
1863 and 1918*

FOR every Polish movement for liberty has been established on a firmer and broader foundation. The liberty movement in Poland has always been dreaded by neighboring autocrats. This is natural. As far back as 1610, before the Romanoffs ascended the throne of Russia, Polish thinkers inspired a movement for freedom which led to the calling of a double Duma. In our own generation we saw revived in Petrograd what the Poles had inspired in 1610 in Moscow.

The fact in Polish history hardest to understand is that the very liberties of the people were used by her autocratic enemies to destroy her.

The election of kings made the nobles and gentry all-powerful, so the Hohenzollerns, Hapsburgs and Romanoffs worked forever to create factions and to increase distress.

When the nobles themselves undertook measures to limit their own powers, to establish some definite dynasty to contend with foreign kings, to give further liberties to the people, the surrounding autocrats hastened their partitions, hastened to despoil, to ruin, to obliterate Poland, that they might obliterate democracy.

This is what the poet Campbell means when he exclaims that "Freedom shrieked when Kosciuszko fell!" For in the Great Diet held by the Poles from 1788 to 1792, just before the Second Partition, Poland, though already suffering from the First Partition, adopted a Constitution inspired by freedom.

There is nothing in history more glorious or more tragic than the framing of this Constitution by a free people on the verge of doom. This charter abolished the serfdom of the peasants. This convention of nobles limited the privileges of the nobles. The right of any member of the nobility to oppose and kill a measure was taken away. A modern government, which Rousseau declared to be freer than that of England, was about to be established, with

the kings and nobles assisting, and the people at the very threshold of liberty.

Then came the answering blow from the Hohenzollerns and Romanoffs, the Second Partition of Poland of 1793. Only a fragment of Poland was left, to be partitioned again between Russia, Prussia and Austria in 1795. And in this Second Partition Russia imposed laws on the fragment of Poland, which showed the real meaning of the quarrel. The Empress Catherine insisted that serfdom be restored. She insisted on all the old disturbing powers being reserved to the nobility. She opposed the establishment of regular dynasty.

The poet Campbell understood. Poland was butchered to destroy democracy. She was butchered to maintain serfdom, which was not abolished in most German countries for many years afterward, and lasted in Russia until 1863.

Poland was the free nation, crucified for human liberty in 1791, in 1831, in 1863. Had she been an autoocracy, had her Diet not sought to free the serfs, had she not made the cause of human liberty her cause, there might still be kings in Poland. The autocrats of those days complained of the anarchy of Poland. Those same tyrants hissed what they called the "anarchy" of Jefferson and Washington in the American continent. They loved the old ways, for we remember that it was a German prince who sold Hessian troops to fight against American liberty upon this soil. This was the type of tyranny that struck at freedom wherever it appeared, on the banks of the Vistula or on the shores of New England.

These facts from the far past explain why the Pole of today, the American of Polish descent of today, finds inspiration and confidence in the history of the lost kingdom-republic.

No one can read understandingly the story of Polish liberty, and the story of how that liberty was lost, without sharing the enthusiasm of the Pole for the past of his people, and also sharing his proud confidence in the greatness and freedom of her future.

Greatness of the Future Poland Proved By Great Men of the Past

THE world which will set Poland free will confer only justice on the long-oppressed nation. It will confer more than justice on the world, in the benefits which a Free Poland will be able to confer upon all humanity.

The loss of Poland's ancient liberty was a blighting blow to civilization. The tyranny of Romanoffs and Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns repressed the free expression of Polish culture. The trio of tyrannical dynasties sought to deprive humanity of the great services which might be given by Polish culture.

But, though shackled and suffering, with the Russian tyrants striving to crush out national feeling and the German oppressors laboring to silence the ancient language, there has nevertheless been no end to literary and artistic life.

There has never been a time when students, if permitted, did not crowd to her ancient universities.

The presses of Poland, which began to operate within a few years after the first invention of the printing press, have never ceased to pour forth Polish productions. Often operating secretly, often operating with the publishers in imminent peril of exile or death, the presses of Poland have supplied the unarmed hosts of Polish freedom with the ammunition of thought which kept up the ceaseless silent battle for liberty.

In Cracow, during the past half century, a remarkable special edition of the great Polish classics has been issued, for distribution among the poorer people.

For even among the poorer people the great writers of the past are valued and loved. The foreign tyrants have uniformly repressed real Polish education, and in many districts have provided no education at all. But even in the darkest provinces the poets and orators of the old time are read by all who read, and their songs are known to thousands whom the alien oppressors have barred from education.

The Castle of Sienkiewicz

THE Polish people showed within our own time what a burning appreciation they have for what is great in literature and art.

Henryk Sienkiewicz, the novelist, is best known to Americans as the author of "Quo Vadis?". To Polish readers this is one of his minor works, which reveals only glimpses of the tremendous power of his Polish historical novels, "Pan Michael," "The Deluge," and "With Fire and Sword."

The American public bought and read "Quo Vadis?". They watched it in plays and in moving pictures. Many of them went on from this one novel to read the other novels by this author, and thereby to get some vision of the old chivalry of classic Poland.

But the Poles did more than merely read the works of their glorious author. A few years after the appearance of "Quo Vadis?" in English, the novelist was presented with a castle and estate, the gift of the Polish race.

The Poles have no king to name a poet laureate, they have no president to confer decorations of honor. But the whole people could show that they loved a great representative of the national soul. They could give him a gift of honor such as no novelist or poet ever before received from the spontaneous acclaim of a people.

But Sienkiewicz lived to prove that he was not a merely literary patriot. His patriotism was in his heart. When the war burst forth, he went forth from his home, ruined by the war, ruined in fortune but still rich in Polish spirit. He went into active service as president of the Polish International Relief commission in Switzerland. From this center he kept in touch with all the world-wide Polish movement.

He died in Switzerland, died in poverty, died in exile, died before the clouds of darkness were lifted from the world. But before he died he proved that he appreciated his own people as fully as they appreciated him. The high international fame which he had won had made no change in the simplicity of his Polish-Lithuanian heart.

The Leadership of Art

THE Polish people at the present hour have shown supreme confidence in the character of their race, and a singular knowledge of their own national soul.

One striking example before our very eyes is the leadership of Ignace Jan Paderewski in many of their new national movements.

No other nation would have chosen a professional musician to be its diplomatic representative in the United States during a period when its own independence was being established. Some would have feared the very eminence of Paderewski as a pianist and composer would have made him less able to manage the hard affairs of a newly forming state.

But the Poles knew Paderewski as the world did not. The Poles are a musical nation. Even Polish factory workers in this country, new immigrants from the Vistula, form orchestras to play classical music. Therefore a musician might be more than a musician.

The Poles knew that Paderewski could not be the musical leader of Poland, as he was, unless he profoundly understood the whole genius of his people.

And therefore, when he spoke for Poland, the outside world was amazed to find that this musician was one of the foremost scholars in the world. They found that he knew men and nations, history and principles of government, and the practical possibilities of the future.

They found, too, that he was a true patriot. For he saw himself, like Sienkiewicz, financially ruined by the war, but gave up his chief effort to the cause of Poland.

All these things might have surprised the gazing nations of the world. But the Poles were not surprised. The nation had confidence in the power of the old Polish traditions, and those fine traditions governed Paderewski and Sienkiewicz, Dmowski and all the new leaders of the Polish republic.

Exiles of Freedom

THE world has not learned to read the great Polish poets, as in time they will be read. They will be read when the world comes to realize more fully all that it owes to the old Polish race, and understands how the great literature of the people expresses the ideals of that race.

The time is not far away when Adam Mickiewicz will be translated more completely and more fully. Humanity will be richer when that is done. For Mickiewicz was born after Poland and Lithuania had lost their liberties. He died in Constantinople, far from his own land.

Yet he is the greatest of all the Polish poets, whose epics are on fire with freedom and the glory of revolution. Other nations had their greatest poets singing in their days of triumph, but Poland's Homer sang in her days of oppression.

How is this possible? Because the Polish people refuse to believe that Poland is downcast forever. They believe as they sing, "Poland Is Not Yet Lost." They believe in the Great Future, and their poets have sung and their soldiers have fought in the spirit of that future.

Mickiewicz died in a foreign land. And in Paris died Frederick Chopin, the Polish composer. Poland has had to see her great sons part from her, to share their glory with another land, to die in a land of strange language.

But this is the glory of her great men. They belong to Poland, and, if left to their own preference, might often prefer to live in the quiet plains of the old Polish country. But they are destined to travel abroad, and thereby to prove that they belong to all humanity.

Copernicus to Mme. Curie

THE new Free Poland will be able to educate her own sons for their share in the world's work. She need not doubt that grand results will come to the world from this, for she knows that great things have already been wrought by the learned sons and daughters of her people.

There are many things for which Poland deserves honor, but has not been honored. The famous Russian ballet of Petrograd was originally a Polish ballet in Warsaw. The many Polish dances which have been danced throughout the world, such as the polka and the mazurka, show the genius of the Poles for the Slavic dance.

A typical illustration of what Poland has suffered is found in the fate of the old Royal Library of Warsaw. After the Russian occupation this immense collection of 1,500,000 books and manuscripts was taken to Petrograd, to form the foundation of the Imperial Library. If Poles had not loved and known literature, Russia might not have had an Imperial Library.

But there are some great achievements of the Polish race which none can question or deny. There are great works of music, and history, and philosophy in which the Polish mind has shared. There are thousands of indications in the past of what the glory of the future will be, under universal schools and democratic institutions.

In addition to this, Polish scientists have performed two services which alone could make the race immortal.

The first of these was the discovery of the solar system by Copernicus.

The second was the discovery of radium by Mme. Curie.

How Poles

Won Recognition

NO ONE needs to recite mere facts of the life of Nicholas Copernicus, the monk of Thorn, who first proved that the world moves around the sun.

No one needs to dwell on the mere facts of the life of Mme. Skłodowska-Curie, the discoverer of radium, the only woman ever elected to the Sorbonne.

One needs only to mention them. They prove that the Polish race sometimes can furnish leaders to the world when leaders are needed. They show it has sometimes fallen to Poles to perform priceless service, which the world could not afford to miss.

Nicholas Copernicus of Thorn and Frauenberg, born a few years before Columbus discovered America, made discoveries in the heavens above as great as those of Columbus upon the sea. Like

Columbus, Copernicus was not merely 'a great man. He was the man whose great discoveries made other men great.

Copernicus had no telescope. He had nothing but his clear eyes, and his clear brain, and his courage. He read all the ancient books, and they all declared that the sun goes around the earth. Yet by his clear brain, and his clear sight, and his patient study of the heavens, he was able to see that all the books were wrong. The learning of all the centuries was mistaken. He discovered that the earth is merely one of the planets, all whirling around the sun. He even estimated the length of the year on each of the planets.

All this is familiar to us now, just as America is familiar, and the printing-press is familiar. But we all know that without Columbus there would have been no United States of America. Without the first printing presses of Gutenberg there would have been no modern newspapers. So without Copernicus there would have been no modern astronomy. The work of a thousand great men, such as Galileo, Newton, Kepler, Herschel, is based on the achievements of the Polish Copernicus.

The work of Mme. Curie, and the wonders of radium, are more familiar by recent discussion. Mme. Curie has also, in a sense, founded a new era in science, as Copernicus did. She is the one striking proof that after these centuries the Polish brain is still clear and powerful, originaive, independent, looking to the future.

What will be the future of Poland in art, in music, in literature, in science, in world-statesmanship?

Everyone asks, but no one knows just how great it will be. But everyone knows it must be great. It cannot be commonplace or ordinary. The Polish race is a race of greatness, and has proved this under blighting oppression. The leaders of such a race, when it is freed, will be among the giants of humanity.

Poland's New Era Statesman Are Champions of Progressive Policy

THE new republic of Poland has already the shadow of a Constitution, with terms to make the new democracy worthy of its freedom.

These are some principles which the New Poland will write into her fundamental law:

Universal liberty of religion and race.

Universal suffrage for men and women.

Complete representative government with direct elections.

Equal taxation.

Universal compulsory education.

The closest fraternal relations with Czecho-Slovakia, Jugoslavia, republican Russia and all the other free nations of the world.

A policy of maintaining world-peace, in harmony with the efforts of the Allied Democracies now victorious in the war.

These principles are sure to form a portion of the Constitution of Free Poland. There is no speculation in declaring this. These things are certain.

This does not mean that these ideas have been adopted by the Polish leaders because such principles are current in the world everywhere. If such ideas were not current anywhere else, they would be found current in Poland. They have been the thought of the representative Polish patriots for many years. They spring from great principles of liberty enunciated in Poland in all the revolutions.

Poles Learn

From History

EVERY friend of Poland notes how frequently the Polish leaders cite the past history of the kingdom-republic. Nowhere else except in the United States and Great Britain has history been made so constantly the subject of patriotic appeal.

The reason for this is a reason which illuminates the whole future of Poland. Polish history is cited so that the modern Pole

can understand the virtues of the old patriots, and also the mistakes of defeated leaders.

The Poles do not propose to reconstruct merely the ancient kingdom-republic. They propose to learn from the grand records of the kingdom-republic whatever is inspiring. They propose also to study any warning which past distresses and sorrows may give to a pure-hearted and clear-visioned lover of the ancestral land.

When Poland was building on foundations of democracy she triumphed. When outside alien autocracies had too much influence on her nobles she suffered. When she trusted the Czars she regretted it; when she trusted Prussia she was lost.

Every triumph of Poland at home or on foreign battlefields has been a triumph for the democracy latent within her. Every disaster and distress has been due to some alien enemy force, working against democracy.

This is the eternal lesson to the modern Pole or the American of Polish blood who cannot lose a filial interest in the plains of the Vistula. The Polish patriot loves his history, even when he reads it with tears. For the history of Poland repeats to him, warningly, solemnly, the same lesson: "There is safety for Great Poland only in Democracy!"

When the Pole reads of the first kings, of the dynasty of Piast, he rejoices that the great founder of this line was a wheelwright. When he records the triumphs of Casimir the Great, he affixes to him the title, "The Peasant King." The Pole honors John Sobieski, not because he was born to the kingship, but because he proved worthy of being elected to the crown.

Submerged Statesmen

THIS explains not merely the attitude of the present-day Polish leader. It explains also the surprising fact that the Polish leaders come before the world with a definite national policy, based on modern progress and also based on the ancient precedents of Poland.

In other words, Poland presents to the world finished statesmen, ready to take part in any council of nations. Where have they been trained? In one of the most wonderful schools of the

world, the school of Polish liberty, maintained ever since the partition by an unbroken succession of patriots in Russian, Prussian and Austrian Poland.

Here we come to one of the most wonderful stories of history, the story of the Submerged Statesmen of Poland. They are men who have been laying the foundations of a national policy ever since before the last partition. They have been building steadily, in the confidence of Poland's deliverance, so that Poland could be prepared.

This is why the Polish nation is today fitted for self-government, though long suppressed. It is fitted to take a place among nations, though long under crushing oppression of despoilers.

Dmowski's Vision, 1902

TO SHOW that Poland has her statesmen, one might quote one comment on the international situation made in 1902 by Roman Dmowski, a political party leader among the Russian Poles.

This was in 1902, before the first peace conference at The Hague, before the Russo-Japanese war, before the nations began the race of building dreadnoughts. And Dmowski wrote in French in a book published in Paris:

"Just as it was the fall of Poland that gave Prussia special importance in Europe and made possible her leadership in modern Germany, so the renaissance of Poland as a political factor would mean an end to the domination of Prussia in the German empire."

Roman Dmowski then was the leader of a political party in Poland known as the Polish National Democratic party. He constantly laid down the doctrine that Germany was aiming at expansion into the east of Europe.

He rested the hopes of the safety of Poland in making Poland as strong as she could be within the Russian empire, until the day dawned when she might go out from the Russian empire and from the other empires.

The world did not note the comment of the Polish leader in 1902. But in 1918 Roman Dmowski spoke as chairman of the Pol-

ish National Committee in Paris. On this side of world cataclysms he declared again:

"The assurance of liberty to Russia and the smaller nations is dependent entirely upon one condition, and that is the re-erection of a powerful and great Polish state."

And this time he finds the statesmen of all the world co-operating with him, and seeing with the same vision.

The world-democracies will restore Poland, not merely to perform an act of justice, not merely to reward a gallant race which has steadfastly championed all liberty; Poland will be restored as one of the great champions of eastern Europe, whose task in her own sphere will be the task of America and England and France, to keep the world safe for Democracy.

How Great Poland Grows

AMERICANS of every descent know how our republic grew out of the Continental Congress held during the Revolution. Europe smiled when Edmund Burke declared that this Continental Congress sitting in the American wilderness was a body of great statesmen.

So perhaps Germany and Russia did not realize that the leaders of submerged Poland were statesmen, that the musician Paderewski, the soldier Pilsudski, the novelist Sienkiewicz, were statesmen.

But statesmanship was nevertheless developing, and is now here. It developed after the Napoleonic wars. In 1815 the hopes of the Polish supporters of Napoleon were overthrown with Napoleon's overthrow. In 1830 the ill-fated revolt of that year ended even the nominal distinction between Russian Poland and Russia. In 1863 another revolt was followed by more repression and sorrow for the oppressed people.

These revolts were the revolts of great hearts, but their aims were dreams. It is the work of statesmen to obey the great ideals of a people, but to make their aims practical. The statesmen of Poland did this. They felt, they represented all the great free aspiration of the people. But they re-directed this national feeling to definite results in liberty.

Conciliation, Reconstruction

AFTER 1863 a "party of conciliation" appeared in Prussian, Russian, Austrian Poland. In each empire the policy was to gain as much liberty as possible under the reigning power. The leaders of this movement gained some benefits almost immediately in Austria. In Russia their work was slower in developing results, but the final results were wonderful indeed.

The movement had as a regular part of its system the study of Polish history. The leaders declared the history should be studied, to learn how Poland came into such distresses, and how she might be delivered.

The leaders were confronted with a great problem in the people themselves. Here were millions long suppressed. The serfdom of peasants was an institution in the old Polish state. The Constitution of 1791 would have freed the peasant serfs, but before they were freed Poland itself was taken prisoner and torn to pieces by the Third Partition.

So in 1886, only five years after the assassination of Alexander II, the Polish League was formed in the Russian section. The object of this league was to carry on a new propaganda of Nationalism among the Polish peasants, a propaganda based upon history and literature.

The Polish peasant was inspired with the ideal of a new Poland. It was not to be a kingdom of inherited or elective dynasties. It was to be a self-governing unit.

The hopes of the peasants were not raised too high. The first aim was for autonomy within the Russian empire. Independence was to be gained in the fullness of time.

The movement at first was secret, perilous. Later, the lighter rule of Nicholas II permitted more open agitation. The movement took the name of the National Democratic Polish party. Then was seen the real spirit of the New Poland, for the peasants, the villagers, the gentry, the middle classes, the nobility, all seemed to be coming more and more closely together.

Then came the Russian partial revolution of 1905, followed by the calling of the Duma. There were elections in Russian Poland, and in every single district the National Democratic Polish party

elected its candidate. This showed that the new movement represented the whole Polish people, rich and poor.

United Poland, 1914-1918

THE years from 1905 to 1914 saw gains for Polish liberty of thought in Russia, and also in Austria. In both there was also a greater understanding among the different classes. In both leaders were found who wished to work out as much liberty as possible under the imperial system, waiting for deliverance.

This, in both Russia and Austria, formed a school of statesmanship for the young Poland. And all the time the three old sections of Poland had their secret military schools. In Austria, Russia and Prussia Polish military companies have drilled in woods and valleys since 1876. And just as Polish political parties formed the nucleus of the new Polish statesmanship, so Polish revolutionary companies formed the germ of the new Polish army.

The statesmen of both lands have informed and inspired the people. The war between the Teutonic empires and the Russian power for a time divided the Poles. The Russian Polish leaders would like to put their trust in Slavic success, and still more in the liberty-loving policies of England and France. For a time, however, some of the Galician Poles joined with Austria under fair promises.

The outcome of this was neither pro-German nor pro-Czar. In Russia the Polish leaders saw less and less hope of real freedom in a distinctly Russian triumph, despite the liberal proclamations of Grand Duke Nicholas. Grand Duke Nicholas saluted the Poles as Poles. Previously Russia had almost ignored the existence of any nationality but Russian nationality in her immediate dominion.

At the same time the Polish Legion in Austria was becoming more and more disaffected from the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns. The end came when the leaders were imprisoned or shot as traitors. Poles in the German army on the French side, when taken prisoner, enlisted in scores in the French army.

Poland an Ally of the Allies

THE three empires did not realize what was occurring. The war was merging the thought of all Poles into one. The thought of the vast main body of the Polish race in Russia, Austria and Prussia became not pro-German, not pro-Czar, not pro-Austrian—but pro-Ally. Their spirit was the spirit of the American declarations, that the war was a war for Democracy. The thought of the overwhelming majority of American Poles showed the same trend. More and more, day by day, the Polish-American became pro-Ally.

Long before the Polish National Committee was organized in Paris, long before the deliverance of Poland was assured by the Allies; long before Russia overthrew the Czars, the Polish people throughout the world took their stand for freedom against autocracy.

They stood for freedom before they knew their old homeland was to share in it. Poland was an allied nation before the Allies realized it. And the Poles remained faithful to the Allies in Germany and Austria, despite all tyrannies, and stood firm for the Allies in Russia, even though the Bolsheviks signed a peace treaty with Germany at Brest-Litovsk.

Poland is prepared for liberty. She has earned it. She has been trained for it. Her soldiers and the soldiers of Polish blood from the four corners of the earth have earned freedom for her.

Their battle is the fruit of the secret companies of freemen who have been training for all these years in the woods and valleys.

Poland has come to a place among the Allied Nations not by accident or chance, but by the definite policy of enlightened statesmanship, by the choice of a people. Her people have voted alike in the three partitions of the dismembered land. They speak as one for their claims, and as one they face the future.

Sons of Oppressed Poland Liberators In Many Lands

DESCENDANTS of Polish ancestors in all corners of the earth now turn their eyes wistfully toward the old land of the plain, where the River Vistula again flows in freedom toward the wharves of Danzig.

These descendants of the old Polish exiles have always thought of modern Poland as a country in chains—a nation whose republican heart still beats, but which is in triple bondage to Russia, Prussia and Austria.

It seems to them like a dream to see that old land set free by great, strong nations. The rejoicing of Poland's liberated millions is joined by the gladness of millions of descendants of Polish ancestors in the United States and Canada, in South America, South Africa, France, Great Britain, and other far-scattered countries.

These descendants of the Polish blood in all lands have a full right to share in the rejoicing. For they have shared in the liberation.

The present deliverance of Poland is no mere whimsical act of justice by the great and war-weary powers.

It is largely a reward to Poland for the work of liberty which her exiled sons have done in more lands than one.

It is largely a result of the way in which the children of this kingdom have kept a Polish Question living before the nations, though Poland herself seemed dead.

The Living Spirit of Poland

THOUGH Poland was dead, her sons carried her spirit into many lands. Thus they came to the United States.

A few immortal leaders appeared here in our Revolution.

A few groups of exiles came before the Civil War. After the Civil War a great emigration was noted from all the Polish lands, the flight of fugitives from the taxation of Russia, the militarism of Austria, and the racial and religious persecution of Prussia.

These emigrants came in thousands to America, and scattered abroad also in other countries. They assumed the citizenship of these countries. They brought up their children under strange skies and in the sound of a strange language. But they brought them up in the old Polish traditions of freedom and equality.

Americans of Polish descent fix their personal hopes in this land and nation. But they take deep interest in Liberty in all countries. And it is because American Poles have been able to enter into the spirit of American liberty, and French Poles have shared the great labors for deliverance in France, that the free nations have been so eager to recognize Free Poland as a sister nation.

The Buried Republic

FREE Poland was recognized, in her committee in Paris, while Germanic troops were occupying every one of her old capitals, and while Prussia doubtless was planning a perpetual dominion over the Vistula. This recognition was made possible because Poles, in every land in the world, have proved that they have the hearts and minds of freemen.

The nations could see that a land which produced such spirits of freedom, the land which could hold the love of its children after 50 years of exile, and could charm the hearts of grandchildren who had never even seen the country, would require no "training of the people for self-government." Poland was buried, but not lost.

The Undying Inheritance

DUM VINCOR, LIBROR." This Latin motto was struck on a coin at Warsaw in 1611, the year which saw the printing of the King James Bible. In that year the first English settlement in America at Jamestown was only four years old.

The coin was struck after the Polish troops had captured the disputed city of Smolensk from the Russians. It was a great day of triumph for the Polish arms, and the period was one of decline and weakness in Russia.

The motto of such a time might have been something imperial and haughty. But instead, the slogan given to the captured fortress is "Dum vincor, libror," or "Though I am conquered, I am set free."

The Polish kingdom-republic knew that any land conquered from the Russian Czars on one side, or from the Prussian and Austrian monarchs on the other, was indeed set free. It was liberty for any city or citizen to escape from Russian or Teutonic hands into Poland.

Previous articles in this series have dwelt upon this point. The growth of Poland was not a growth of conquest. It was chiefly the addition of cities and territories which sought the freedom of her protection.

Centuries ago a group of Prussian cities, oppressed by the knights of the Teutonic order, called for Polish armies to save them from oppression. Livonia added herself voluntarily to the kingdom-republic.

When Lithuania and Poland were united, Lithuania kept her language and her religion and her courts. The final union of Poland and Lithuania brought liberties to the Lithuanians which were unknown before. Every country over which Poland extended its rule could say with captured Smolensk: "Though I am conquered, I am set free."

The Destiny of the Poles

W E AMERICANS love to believe our country has a high destiny, in liberty and enlightenment.

We can now see that Great Britain also had a high destiny. She was so long feared because of her terrible strength. But we can now see that that very strength was to be used, in a dreadful hour, to protect the world from destruction.

We can see that France had a great destiny, in the unchanged laughing bravery of her people. Only such a nation could offer their beautiful country as the living sacrifice of war, and fight unflinchingly until the day of victory.

Devoted Belgium, and chivalrous Italy, the faithful sons of Czecho-Slovakia, and all the other liberty-loving nations, have proved that they had a great mission in the world.

And now, as we have a better understanding of the different peoples, the real destiny of Poland is made clear. She was the advance nation of democratic liberty. When she had power, she conferred freedoms, though surrounded by despotism. By the freedom of her own citizens she inspired all her people with the spirit of liberty.

Then, when the kingdom itself was destroyed, her national destiny was still a destiny of liberty. Her sons went out into all countries. And wherever an oppressed people lifted up their hands against oppressive government, somewhere in the ranks were Polish liberators, and somewhere in the councils of most of them were Polish leaders.

One historian declares:

"Up to the eighteenth century, every attempt to check absolutism among kings was inspired by Polish institutions."

When one reads the old Polish constitution in the light of what the new Polish constitution is to be, it seems antique and aristocratic. But when read in the light of the governments which surrounded Poland in the old days, it was radical and liberal, and it foreshadowed the coming of a true republic in the course of time.

It caused continual unrest under the thrones of tyrants, and it continued down to our own time to be a destroyer of autocracy.

International Heroes

THADDEUS KOSCIUSZKO'S name returns to memory whenever the foreign services of Poles are mentioned.

Kosciuszko fought for the freedom of the American colonies, but there still was not freedom enough in America to satisfy his heart. Kosciuszko enrolled his name among the first in America to declare for the emancipation of Negro slaves.

At one time there was a plan to offer to Kosciuszko and his people an immense tract of land on the Ohio, for their settlement as citizens. If Kosciuszko had settled here, instead of returning to the last fatal war for his country, he might have led even the leaders of this new nation in their doctrines of liberty. Statesmanship and justice might have settled the slavery problem in the

United States, without the bloodshed and horror of civil war. For in all the advances of Poland toward liberty she never knew civil war.

Kosciuszko and Pulaski are well known to Americans as among the Revolutionary heroes. But to the reader of Polish history they are only types. They are only two of the sons of Poland who went forth to fight for the liberation of afflicted lands.

Eloquently and justly Antoni Chlonowieski declares, in reviewing the foreign record of Polish heroes:

"The years 1831 and 1848 saw Polish emigrants at every barricade and on every battlefield where independence was the issue of battle."

"Brigands," some of these were called by the oppressive governments from which they rebelled. "Brigands," again, was what the Czars' autocratic government called the first soldiers who declared for independent Poland in the present war. But despite the condemnation of the conquerors, these rebels were able to help other nations to liberty, when they could not yet free their own Poland.

Hungary and Italy

THE years 1831 and 1848, mentioned by Chlonowieski, were the great years of revolution, fruitful of results in some countries, fruitless in others. But the scattered exiles of Poland were found in all movements for wider freedom.

The Italians glory in the statesmanship of Cavour, in the dashing genius of Garibaldi, in the foresight and broad vision of Victor Emanuel I and his descendants. These names are justly held in honor, as the name of Washington is held in America. These great Italians fought and labored for Free Italy, and United Italy. Their victory is now only completed with the conquests in Austria.

But the uprising for liberty in Sicily was aided by the Polish Mirolawski, and for a time the army of Sardinia in Italy honored Gen. Chrzanowski. Garibaldi knew many Poles among his red-shirted army of liberators.

The Polish warriors for freedom were not all soldiers by train-

ing. To Milan came Adam Mickiewicz the poet, with a legion he had organized.

And Mickiewicz was still a poet, still a teacher of high truth. He declared that the world's sorrows were due to the sad fact that rulers are following pagan principles of might, instead of Christian principles of justice and right. How often, in the last few years of sorrow, has the world recognized the evil that can still be wrought by a spirit of pagan tyranny and pagan might!

Revolution in Austria knew the name of the Polish Gen. Bem, and the calmer statesmanship which brought about some constitutional government in Austria enrolled the names of Smolka and Goluchowski.

Hungary, which has now declared itself independent of Austria, had help from the sons of conquered Poland in her old struggles with the Hapsburgs. Gen. Dembinski, Gen. Wysocki, Gen. Bem, all will be remembered by future Hungarian historians as our writers remember Kosciuszko.

Poland Remembered

POLAND'S sons have thus continued to fight for liberty, when Poland's own liberties were gone. But they never forgot Poland itself, nor lost the hope that some day they would rally their forces to her defense.

So eager were all Poland's sons in the homeland and outside to strike a blow for her, that when the Great War burst forth they struck for a time on different sides.

French Poles hurried to the Tricolor to strike at Germany. Many American Poles, long before the United States entered the war, crowded to Canada to join the armies of the British empire. In Austria some great but deceived men, headed by Gen. Joseph Pilsudski, formed a separate Polish legion to fight against Russia.

This Gen. Pilsudski and his forces will be discussed in a later article. His is the story of a man of modern Poland, a man of princely descent but of intense democracy. It is the story of a man who was deceived into false hopes by the Teutons, but who found out the deception, and was thrown into prison with all his

leaders as a traitor. Now he is released from prison, and joins with all his compatriots in other lands for the one great cause.

Poland has a broken history, indeed. But she has an unbroken line of warriors under different standards of freedom, decorated in this war with the medals of all the great Allies of Democracy.

Poland's Sons Re-created Poland In Their War for World Democracy

TWO WEEKS after the outbreak of the Great War a group of leading Poles of all political parties met in Warsaw.

Warsaw is the oldest capital of the dukes of Mazovia, and became capital of Poland in 1609. It was the scene of sieges in many wars with Sweden and Russia. It was the heroic city of the last battles of Kosciuszko, and the mother of many Polish revolutions. So all Poland listens to a voice from Warsaw, as if from a voice of the mighty dead and the voice of the living Poland.

These Polish councilors met to weigh the proclamation of liberty to Poland which had just been made by the Grand Duke Nicholas, commander of the Russian armies.

They all knew that Russian imperialism had been a bloody and ruthless tyranny. They saw little hope if the war should perpetuate the Czar. But they saw also the looming enemy of Russia was Germany, which for centuries had been the chief enemy of Poland. And far beyond Germany they saw the other Allies, France and Great Britain, in whom Poland, like Belgium and Armenia and Palestine, could finally trust.

Therefore these men, representing the four political parties in Poland voting on candidates for the Russian Duma, declared for acceptance of the proclamation of Grand Duke Nicholas.

Those who attended that conference report that there were doubtful hearts who remembered the armies of Suwarrow and the long files of exiles on the Siberian road. But it was a time of decision between the Allies and the forces of Kaiserism.

These articles have already emphasized the fact that the Poles knew Kaiserism for centuries before the Belgian outrages revealed its character to the world.

For Kaiserism these Poles could not fight.

And on the other hand was the imperial pledge of the Grand Duke:

"POLAND SHALL BE RE-BORN, FREE IN FAITH, IN LANGUAGE, IN SELF-GOVERNMENT!"

The answer of the Polish political parties showed the spirit of their people when they concluded their reply with these words:

"THE BLOOD OF POLAND'S SONS SHED IN UNITED COMBAT AGAINST THE GERMANS WILL SERVE EQUALLY AS A SACRIFICE OFFERED UPON THE ALTAR OF HER RESURRECTION."

An utterance which now reads as if the united parties of Russian Poland were inspired as prophets. They were not inspired as prophets but as patriots. They all felt the spirit of the Polish past, which was to be the spirit of the Polish future.

So today no summary of all the battles of Poles in this war could make a more complete summary of their achievements than these words:

"The blood of Poland's sons shed in united combat against the Germans will serve equally as a sacrifice offered upon the altar of her resurrection!"

Divided Action, United Spirit

"UNITED combat against the Germans" did not seem assured in the first flaming years of the war. United action would seem impossible, because the first conscriptions of the three empires ranged Polish subjects under the three banners.

Perhaps the imperial houses now dethroned imagined that the Poles under their generals were acting for Austria, or Russia, or Germany. It was clear to watchful Polish-Americans, and to international Poles like Paderewski, that the real leaders were acting for Poland only.

From Warsaw to Cracow

THE WORLD, beset with the maddening anxieties of the sudden outbreak of war, was painfully puzzled by the contrast between Russian and Austrian Poland.

For while Poles on the Russian side were organizing in behalf of Russia, Poles on the Austrian side were organizing to fight against Russia. The center of the Russian movement was the old capital of Warsaw. The center of the movement against Russia was the old capital of Cracow.

In this as in every early phase of the war the Teuton side gained first advantage. In Cracow rose up Gen. Joseph Pilsudski, descended of a princely family in Lithuania, but himself a radical Socialist.

Gen. Pilsudski knew of the sufferings of Poland under Russia. He had personally suffered much for his homeland. When the turmoil of the Russo-Japanese war arose Gen. Pilsudski and his colleagues began to foresee the Great War. They planned, as revolutionaries had been planning since 1876, to be ready for the Great War with a Polish force.

The Great War burst forth. Many of the Poles in Russia tumbled into the Russian ranks. Poles in Germany were drawn by machinery into the Germany army. But in Galicia or Austrian Poland, and in parts of Russian Poland in touch with Austrian movements, a Polish army which had been organized in the darkness marched forth into the light.

Four days after the war broke out Gen. Joseph Pilsudski left Cracow with the first section of this army, with the Polish flag aloft, and marched directly to the Russian border. At Kielce, on Russian-Polish soil, the independence of Poland under Austrian protection was proclaimed, and a high celebration was held in which Russian and Austrian Poles were united.

The Single Purpose

THE LOVERS of Poland might well have wept to see Polish leaders in Warsaw upholding Russia and trusting in the Allies; Poles in Germany driven or dragged into the armies of the Kaiser; Poles in Austria claiming and proclaiming liberty, and turning all their wrath upon the Russia which their kinsmen upheld.

Was this a breach that could not be healed? Was it an unchangeable division?

It was not. The unity of purpose of these scattered armies was more plain than their divergences of action.

We know that in the Civil War both the North and the South displayed American character. We know that each side in its own way fought for principle. We can forget the sorrow and

hatred of old years in the memory of the valor and devotion of each side to its own cause.

But in our Civil War there were two causes in conflict. In Poland there was only One Cause—the Great Cause of Poland. The conflict was between methods of gaining that great object, the independence of the old republic.

Battle-Cries of a Century

“**H**OW SHALL we be free?” has been the cry of the yearning patriot heart in Poland since Poland lost her freedom.

This was the aim of Kosciuszko and his army of peasants with scythes. Such was the cry of the Revolutionaries of 1830 and 1863. In their own way these heroes struck for the freedom of Poland, and each leader in a different way.

So the inherited passion for liberty came down to the founders of the political movements in Russian Poland. So it came down also to the organizers of the secret Polish troops in both Austrian and Russian Poland. Each in its own way struck for Poland, though the conference at Warsaw aimed at the Hohenzollerns and the armies from Cracow aimed at the Romanoffs.

Never Against “The Allies”

NOW BOTH these parties, under different emperors, had some great devotions in common. Both were alike devoted to the great memories of the past. Both were alike loyal to the great friendship which France and Great Britain had shown for years to the Polish people.

These lands had not set Poland free. But they had never joined in her enslavement. On the other hand, English and French poets have eloquently extolled the Polish heroes of liberty, as if they were heroes of Paris or London.

So the Polish legion that marched out from Cracow against Russia was committed to fight against Russia only. It was to fight the dynasty of the Czars which had oppressed Poland. So

the armies which the Warsaw committee called into existence marched against Germany, against the dynasty of the Hohenzollerns which had oppressed Poland.

This illuminates the dark confusion of the Polish situation. It is another demonstration of the power of this downtrodden nation to exert a national strength, and to demonstrate a national spirit.

This national spirit demanded only that the old crusade of liberty be fulfilled.

To the Pole of the Warsaw committee, hoping that something could be done for Poland through the desperation of Russia's promises, Prussia was the Western Front of Poland's War.

To the Pole of the Cracow army, praying that his right arm could strike some blow for his homeland with Austria trembling at his back, the land of the Czars was the Eastern Front of Poland's War.

From the first roar of battle Poland's sons fought this war for Poland. Their spirit was one spirit, marching west or east.

Both fought better than they knew. When Austrian Poles dug trenches in the sacred soil of Russian Poland, or when Russian Poles crossed into Prussian Polish territory, both dreamed of a new and united Poland. And the blows on both sides told.

Prussia, the Last Enemy

THE POLISH army in Austria lived to see the house of Romanoff fall. They saw the young republic of Russia proclaim Polish independence as a matter of course. They had already seen proclamation of free Poland by Austria, and a recognition of the Polish army had come from Vienna in the first year of the war.

But Austria, if she dreamed that any son of the old kingdom-republic was fighting for the Hapsburgs, had an awakening during the years. It was found that the East Galician Polish Legion had taken the oath to Poland only—it was disbanded. It was found by the Poles on the other hand that the German allies of Austria were invading Poland with the worst rapine of the whole war. The years went on, thunderous and stormy years, and the

Poles in Austria put less and less hope in the Austrian promises. The Austrians depended less and less on the Polish troops.

Austrian Polish legionaries deserted to Russia, especially to republican Russia. The Poles in Austria saw more and more with the eyes of their brethren in Russia, and with the eyes of their brethren in France, and their brethren in the United States.

Democracy the Issue

THE RUSH of war events showed more and more the true issue: Autocracy against Democracy. This was the vital issue of Poland's life. The entrance of America into the war found the Poles of all sections of old Poland, and their kinsmen in every land of refuge, united on the great course to be followed.

The far-scattered nation had already agreed on the Great cause. They had divided on the methods. They found, at last, that "the blood of Poland's sons shed in united combat against Germany will serve equally as a sacrifice offered upon the altar of her resurrection."

So the last years of the war found Austria imprisoning and interning and shooting officers and soldiers of that Polish Legion who had discovered the vanity of her promises. The Polish troops in Russia made no war against republican Russia, but they stood out against the pro-German Bolsheviks. In the very last year of the war, the Polish flag flew in France and in Russia and in other fields, and Polish blood was found in every army under the Allied flag.

And now that the war is over, the old unity of purpose is recognized. Roman Dmowski of the Warsaw committee serves his country in Paris. Gen. Pilsudski of the Austrian Polish Legion serves in Warsaw. Gen. Haller, who once fought in Russia, heads the Polish army in France, and to Danzig comes Ignace Jan Paderewski of the Paris committee in a British warship.

These men were divided in policy before. They will divide again. They differ in opinion on many things. But they demonstrate, as everything truly Polish demonstrates, the unity of the Polish nation in the great cause of Liberty for which it is destined to live.

“United States of Poland” Rises in Spirit of American Republics

PRESIDENT WILSON is of all men the most quoted when anyone would discuss the spirit of the New Poland, which is rising from among dead nations to a shining place among living ones.

One hundred years after the death of Thaddeus Kosciuszko, the Pole who helped to liberate America but could not free his own land, President Wilson declared to the American Congress:

“Statesmen everywhere are agreed that there should be a united, independent and autonomous Poland.”

President Wilson made this declaration three months before America was dragged into the war by Prussia bent on self-destruction. Yet Poles throughout America and Europe rose up rejoicing at this utterance. It was the first acknowledgment by the head of a great power of the outraged rights of their people.

President Wilson did not merely say “a united Poland.” The czar had pledged himself to unite Poland, under his own scepter. He had promised to restore her Diet, under his own supervision. He had promised to maintain her language, but that language was to speak the will of the Russian czar.

Likewise the kaiser would have been glad to pledge a united Poland, if he could find some way to join all Poland under Prussianism. Frederick the Great or Nero would have promised a “united Poland” under their single sway.

President Wilson knew, and the Poles knew, that a united Poland was not enough.

President Wilson said that there should be “a united, independent Poland.” He knew that even this was not enough. Prussia and Austria had even promised that, an independent Poland.

It was to be a Poland under a king chosen by agreement of the house of Hohenzollern and the house of Hapsburg. An independent Poland, under a puppet monarch trained to tremble at the kaiser’s frown, or to obey the slightest hint from Vienna. An

independent Poland, but not independent of Hohenzollernism or Hapsburgism.

The Full Cup of Liberty

THIS WAS by no means enough. What justice demanded, what statesmanship demanded, what civilization demanded was a "united, free and AUTONOMOUS Poland."

Poland must govern herself, not be governed by the czar or the German czarina. Poland must direct her own destiny, and not see her high hopes destroyed by a deputy of the Prussian or Austrian tyrants.

The words of President Wilson were among the first words of greeting from a world statesman to express what Polish patriotism has really desired and craved.

This was not a Russian sub-kingdom. It was not a Prussian-Austrian principality. It was a Polish republic.

Nothing but a republic would bring to the thirsting lips of Poland the full cup of Liberty for which they and their fathers had suffered such mighty pangs.

They demanded a Republic, in the foremost rank of the free nations of today. Even so the old Kingdom-Republic was in the leadership of free nations in those brave centuries.

The words of President Wilson still echo in Polish hearts throughout America and Europe. For when those words were uttered, German troops had possession of vast stretches of Russian Poland. The empire of the czars was reeling toward its fall.

Between tottering Russia and conquering Prussia, with Austria dropping the mask and commencing to imprison the patriots of the Polish Legion, Poland could scarcely expect language from the American President which sounded so much like "recognition."

The Poles have seen other recognitions. They had witnessed the increasing sympathy of the French and British from the firing of the first guns on the Prussian-Russian frontier. In fact, President Wilson's words were largely the summing up of the growing conviction of statesmen.

The words of President Wilson, spoken from America while America was still a neutral land, were nevertheless words which uttered the full thought of Poland's heart.

For the Poland which her sons and descendants see arising in the wide plains of the Vistula, the land which has been the land of her people since before the Caesars, is a republic to be built in the spirit of the American republic.

In fact, the only description that can be found for it by American friends of the Polish cause is the name employed by Dr. A. Syski: "The United States of Poland."

*"E Pluribus
Unum"*

NO ONE knows whether the new Republic will really bear that name. It is now a name of distinction among the republics of the world.

In the former centuries a duchy was proud when it became a kingdom. Often a king was rejoiced to call himself Emperor. But in our day the United States of America has her tributes of admiration from the Republics named after her:

The United States of Brazil, the United States of Mexico, the United States of Colombia, the United States of Venezuela.

Some Chinese patriots have desired that their immense homeland be known as the United States of China. And there are some who predict that the Germanic dominions of the fallen Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs will yet be called the United States of Germany—die Vereinigten Staaten von Deutschland!

Thus many lands of foreign speech are christened for Liberty in the name of the United States. But even where there is no adoption of our name, there is an adoption of our real system, and an attempt to assume our spirit.

Our fathers determined to form one nation, but to preserve the rights of the states. They would make the states powerful, but preserve the rights of countries, and cities, and townships. They would make the government powerful, but preserve the rights of the individual.

Out of these many liberties they made one great central national liberty. They wrote upon their charters the motto, "One Out of Many," or, in Latin, "E Pluribus Unum." To build up the power of the nation, and to maintain the liberties of the states and of the people, was the whole spirit of this republic.

Free States of Free Poland

OF ALL states brought into being under the inspiration of America, none has so completely caught her spirit as has the formative republic of Poland.

For first of all, this republic wishes to be strong. She desires a place among the powerful nations. The Polish Committee at Paris, the Polish provisional government in Warsaw, speak in their own way for 30,000,000 people.

The Polish National Department in America, composed of American citizens representing 3,000,000 Americans of Polish blood, likewise see hope for their kinsmen yonder only in the building up of Poland into strength.

This is why the plans of Polish statesmen sweep over the whole wide valley of the Vistula.

This is why the hopes of Independent Poland have always included the regaining of Gdansk or Danzig. This is a port in the Prussian kingdom, formerly under Polish rule, added to Prussia by the Second Partition.

The Vistula is to Poland all that the Missouri-Mississippi system is to the western United States, all that the St. Lawrence is to eastern Canada. And Danzig is to the Vistula all that New Orleans is to the Mississippi, all that Montreal is to the St. Lawrence. It is the city at the mouth of the Polish Vistula, and the distributor of the grain and produce of all the Vistula tributaries.

Poland would see this Gdansk restored, and all the other territories snatched from her by the Second Partition restored with it. Americans who know their history can sympathize with this. For soon after our independence was accomplished Spain forbade us to navigate the Mississippi. She could control that stream through its upper reaches because she held New Orleans.

It was only when New Orleans passed to France, and we secured it in 1803 by the Louisiana purchase, that we really controlled the Mississippi.

The Old Freedom of Danzig

BUT WOULD Poland oppress Danzig, as the Russians oppressed Danzig and all other Polish cities stolen in the First and Second and Third Partitions?

Such oppression by Poland would be impossible. The Polish Republic has gained recognition from the Allies by its pledge of democracy. Democracy in Danzig means the government of that city by itself, as a city in one of the states of the United States of Poland.

And Poland can point to records in the history of Danzig itself to show that this is her policy. This city of Gdansk has a thousand years of history, and a thousand years of municipal liberty. It belonged of old to the league of trading cities known as the Hansa towns, powerful and free. It came under the sway of Poland by its own act, when it sought the shelter of the Polish Kingdom-Republic as protection against Teutonic tyranny.

And under Polish rule in those old centuries, Danzig was never a subjugated town. It always preserved local autonomy. The loss of the freedom of Poland was the loss of the liberties of Danzig, and the restoration of the Polish republic will give the city again its lost Polish freedom.

States, Not Provinces

THIS IS the plan of Polish patriotism for all the districts to be included in the New Poland. These are not to be provinces, but states. They are to be ruled by the consent of the governed. The Polish statesmen of today believe this the real path of greatness, the real pledge of Poland's continuing power. And only a powerful Poland can perform real and mighty works for the cause of world-democracy.

Let Danzig turn back her records to the free days of Polish rule. Let Danzig then add to these records all that modern statesmen know of modern liberty.

Then she can see that the Danzig of the future will be a "Free City." She will be freer than all the towns of the Hansa league. She will be freer than any Prussian metropolis that has had to obey the petty town of Potsdam.

What Danzig will be, all Poland will be. Though the name will be Poland, the country will be a union of states. Of this let more be told in a later article.

Religious Liberty in Poland Assured by Toleration of Ancient Constitution

I AM NOT king of your consciences!" declared King Sigismund Augustus to the people of Poland, after he had mounted the throne of the Jagellons in 1548.-

One year before King Sigismund Augustus was crowned Henry VIII of England had died. Henry VIII indeed claimed to be king of his people's consciences. No monarch of England or any other Christian land save Russia ever claimed such sway over the faith of his subjects.

Yet in that century King Sigismund Augustus of Poland was a greater monarch than King Henry of England. The Polish monarch was the most powerful of his line, one of the most powerful of his time.

He saw realms added to his realm. Under his sway the union with Lithuania was finally made complete. Livonia came freely into the unity of the Polish state before his death. If ever a king seemed to have power to control his people and enforce his will, that king was Sigismund Augustus.

And he did control his people, and enforce his will, but not by trying to override religious liberty. He saw instead an intense demand among his people for religious liberty. He saw also how other European realms were splitting and burning with religious hatreds.

Sigismund Augustus himself was a Christian prince, a man of faith and conscience. As such, he issued a proclamation, now 350 years old, but which would be worthy of King George V or King Victor Emanuel in the twentieth century. When so many princely hearts were burning with religious intolerance, this king of Poland proclaimed:

"Considering the great calamities to which the largest and most flourishing Christian countries have recently been exposed, because their kings and princes have tried to suppress the different religious opinions which have arisen in our time, we have resolved to prevent these dangers from disturbing the peace and security of our realms, and from causing such excitement of the minds of

people as would produce a civil war, particularly as we have become convinced, by the example of other countries in which so much Christian blood has been shed, that such severities are not only useless, but even most injurious."

This was the doctrine of a church-going king of Poland in the century before our American religious liberty was established by the Catholics of Maryland, the Quakers of Pennsylvania and the Baptists of Rhode Island.

The People and the King

THE KING of Poland was in this merely a representative of the thought of his people. In those centuries Poland saw both Catholics and Protestants in high places. But she did not see laws to compel uniform faith, or persecution for conscience sake.

When Protestantism became a noticeable movement in Poland, in the time of Sigismund Augustus, some striking incidents showed the attitude of the people. For example, those who became Protestants refused to pay any tithes to the older church. They found that in this attitude they were warmly supported by the power of the Catholic nobility.

Then the Catholic and Protestant members of the Diet, meeting in Piotrkow in 1552, worked with the king to provide the utmost liberty of thought and worship.

The result of this Diet was the establishment of a system like that in existence today in all civilized countries. The different church bodies had authority over their ecclesiastical relations to their own members, and there the ecclesiastical power ended.

The Contrasts of the Ages

WE WOULD take this for granted now in any country, civilized or uncivilized. We know that today the force of modern opinion is strong enough to compel religious toleration, as it has compelled toleration in China under the dowager empress, and in Russia under the czars.

But in the time of Sigismund the king could have issued very different edicts, if he had been disposed to persecute. The nobles at the Diet of Piotrkow might have passed Test Acts or other acts to take away the rights of the members of the minority faith, whatever the minority faith might prove to be.

But one sentiment prevailed among Catholics and Protestants, at the very time when the issues were burning in every other land.

When the Catholics of that period were in power they protected the Protestants. Then came a time when Protestantism had a wide sweep in Poland, temporarily winning to its doctrine many of the most ancient and eminent families. And these Protestant families, while they were building Protestant churches and printing Protestant Bibles, did not neglect to protect their Catholic fellow-countrymen.

Poland thus stands out in shining contrast to many lands of that age. She stands out in shining contrast to Prussia and Russia even in the last 100 years.

Even in cities which had rejoiced at the Toleration Edicts of Sigismund in the sixteenth century, Catholics were persecuted in the nineteenth by the Kulturkampf madness of von Bismarck. In other cities Lithuanian Greek Catholics were forced into membership in the Russian church. Thus modern Russia and Prussia fell behind the Catholics and Protestants of an earlier century.

The Land of Faith

THIS ANCIENT tolerance is not the tolerance of people indifferent to religion. Indeed, we find that some of the Polish kings felt that they were naturally preachers and spiritual advisers. Some of them even chide and admonish the bringers-in of new doctrines, and urge them paternally to rejoin the ancient church.

For these Polish kings, especially the greatest of them, were religious men. Many of them have been canonized as saints. But their religion was one of principle, not of intolerance.

So under Catholic kings Protestants were found, now and then, as presidents of the Polish Diet, as judges of courts, holding offices of honor and offices of trust.

The mingling of zeal and tolerance was beautifully uttered in a declaration by Jan Zamoyski, Crown Chancellor, showing what breadth of vision had made a Land of Liberty out of the Land of Faith. He declared to a group of separated friends:

"If I could lead you back to Catholicism I would gladly give up half my life—and with the other half I should live rejoicing in the union.

"But if anyone should try to compel you, then I would give up all my life, rather than be obliged to witness this compulsion."

The Land of Refuge

THE FAME of Poland's liberty went like spreading light through the dark regions where religious strife was raging.

The result was that many tolerated sectarian leaders of that age found their way to the Vistula, just as friends of human liberty had always sought the way to Poland.

Here were to be found, under the equal protection of the laws, the different schools of opinion which that era produced: Hussites, Lutherans, Calvinists, Arians, Secinians and others.

The Test of the Ages

NO NATION better stood the test of those times than Poland. And Poland, if she were asked what her pledge of religious liberty will be, could pledge much by merely turning to her history.

But of course Poland can show more than that. Her sons and daughters have been scattered throughout the world. They have shared proudly in the achievements of liberty in every land. At the same time, her sons in Poland have suffered under the persecution of Prussia on one side, and the persecution of Russia on the other.

When Poland and Lithuania were united, the Lithuanians were divided from western Christendom. This was before the Reformation, before the day of modern religious problems. But Poland preserved the religious liberties of the Lithuanians as she preserved their political liberties. And there came a time when the

Lithuanians voluntarily united themselves with the western churches. The Christian charity of their Polish brethren accomplished what persecution would never have accomplished.

As late as 1874 the Russian czar's church made efforts to force the Lithuanians into the Russian church organization. But it was found impossible to break the ties which tolerance had bound between Lithuania and western Christendom. Whether Lithuania forms one government with Poland or not, she will always preserve the spirit of religious liberty which Poland secured for her in earlier centuries.

The Shrine of Freedom

AN EARLIER article in this series cited the recent request of Jewish communities in Poland for their own courts and the recognition of their own language. It was remarked in that article that these liberties were actually possessed by Jews in the days of Poland's independence.

The Jews were expelled from England by Edward I in the year 1290.

But in the year 1264 King Boleslaw the Pious (the name should be noted) had issued to the Jews of Poland proper a Charter of Liberties. Within the next century Casimir the Great extended this to all lands under the Polish dominion.

For 500 years the charters of Boleslaw and Casimir were confirmed by all the kings of Poland. The confirmation of the charter came as surely as the coronation itself, while from many western lands the Jews were barred by barbarous laws, and in others they endured continual rapine and persecution.

The charter gave to the Jewish dwellers in Poland complete freedom of trade and transactions, and of travel. There was no "Jewish pale" as in modern Russia under the czars.

The Jews, when accused, were tried by separate courts, and could not be brought before ordinary municipal or ecclesiastical courts. Indeed, the Jewish elders themselves tried all minor cases. Other cases were tried before officials known as "Jewish judges." These were never allowed to convict a Jew on exclusively Gentile testimony, and their verdicts had to be approved by the Jewish elders.

These were the laws of the land, just as the laws for toleration among Christian sects were laws of the land.

There are elements in every nation who are opposed to religious liberty. We know individuals in our own America who are utterly intolerant. And Poland also was cursed at times with the presence of individuals who were not worthy of the grand spirit of her leaders. But in Poland, as in America, those were the exceptions. The main volume of Polish history is unstained by the blood of religious massacre, unmarred by cruel statutes or intolerance.

The Future

Freedom

THE POLAND of the future will turn for her inspiration to the grandest and highest things of her past, and to the noblest principles of the present age.

If all other lands had forgotten religious tolerance, Poland could restore it from the records of her old laws. But since all countries do now profess and proclaim religious liberty, Poland has only to pledge that she will maintain the present and the past freedom of soul of her people.

Great is Poland. She is great because of moral greatness, spiritual grandeur, mightiness of soul. These qualities belong to the nation because it is a nation of freemen, men independent in spirit however oppressed by foreign rule. And therefore she will maintain that independence of spirit for every soul within her borders, when once the foreign rule is forever loosed.

She will be a land of liberty, welcoming to her all sons of liberty, pledging freedom to all. She will not live in the past, but in the present. But let her past be taken as a pledge that she is able to fulfill the promises of the future.

History of Polish Womanhood Shines With Noble Patriotic Achievements

NEW YORK has seen grand efforts for the cause of Poland championed by Mme. Marcella Sembrich.

Mme. Marcella Sembrich was born in the war-battered city of Lemberg. She was born with the irresistible impulse of the musical genius, for she played the piano and violin at four, and supported her family with her music when only 12. Now for 30 years all the honor and adulation that are showered upon great operatic sopranos have been hers—Athens, Dresden, London, Paris, Rome, Milan, New York have bowed down before her.

This might make any vocalist a mere queen of song. But all her successes have only developed the womanhood of Mme. Sembrich. And now, after a lifetime of honors won in other lands, after dwelling a long time in New York, among people of English speech, she is found devoting strength and genius to the cause of her beloved Poland.

All the prestige Mme. Sembrich has won in her long career in music has gone to help in raising relief funds for the battle-ridden peasantry of her suffering country.

All these years the people of her own blood have rejoiced in her fame. The Poles are a musical nation. The humblest Polish settlement in the United States has its singing society and its orchestra devoted to classical music. So these people know and appreciate the high level of art which Mme. Sembrich has reached.

But perhaps she has never won, in a lifetime of kindness, so much of the love of her own kindred as in these years when Poland was in bitter need, and Mme. Sembrich was found devotedly toiling for the people of the homeland.

At the Sorbonne

PARIS knows only one woman who was ever made a professor at the Sorbonne, that university which for 700 years has exerted tremendous influence over the public mind of France.

This woman is Mme. Marie Skłodowska-Curie, daughter of a professor in Warsaw, born in Warsaw, but the woman who won enduring fame in Paris by the discovery of radium.

Mme. Curie has won international honors in science as great as those won by Mme. Sembrich in music. But when the war burst upon the world, and upon Poland, she showed the filial loyalty of her heart, and became one of the first and most earnest workers for the relief of her suffering people.

Many have said that art is international, and science is international. But these women have shown that the internationalism of life work will not destroy patriotism or humanity or sympathy for the land of one's birth.

These two feminine world-figures, before whom all civilization has done homage in the spheres of learning and of song, are found to be, after all, women of Poland as well as women of the whole world.

The First Ambassador

THE whole world knows how the greatest of piano virtuosi, Ignace Jan Paderewski, was ruined by the war.

The whole world knows how he toured the Allied lands, as he said, "not to entertain, but to plead for Poland." America has recognized the honor given her when the Polish Committee in Paris named M. Paderewski as its first diplomatic representative in America.

Thus the master-musician came to us in a new role, as the first ambassador of the resurrected Polish Republic. All that is known, as well as the memorable eloquence with which M. Paderewski pleaded the cause he desired to plead.

With M. Paderewski on his old time concert tours Mme. Paderewski often traveled. She shared the honors that came to him; and the glory of his applause.

Then, when M. Paderewski appeared in his new role, as a worker and a toiler in the hard affairs of a formative state—as an advocate for a prostrated and humiliated people—Mme. Paderewski was found sharing his labor and his new anxieties, and serving Poland with the same zeal.

The New Poland owes much to valiant men, generals, statesmen, professors, advocates, and men of religion. But she owes much also to her women, to these three and to others like them in high or humble spheres.

Poland would be ungrateful indeed if she did not recognize these women and their work. But the world asks, What was the inspiration of their efforts? Does this mean that Polish women feel the force of the Modern Age? Is this merely modern Feminism, or have the Poles in other ages known the great help of great women?

The Girls of America

WE HAVE all seen in America, and all our Red Cross and Liberty Loan and War-Saving Stamp campaigns can report, how zealously the teams of Polish women have aided in these works.

But in America we expect great results from the American Girl, whatever her ancestry. Whether her grandmother's girlhood was spent in the long winters of Russia or under the sun of Spain, we expect from the American girl life and fire and initiative.

These things have been shown indeed in the American Girl of Polish descent. She has done more than her share in all the activities of the war. She has also done her extra share for the Polish Army fighting in France, and all the special relief work undertaken for Poland itself.

For in our Polish-American communities two armies were raised for this war. The young men eligible to service under our American flag poured into the recruiting stations for that service. At the same time thousands of young men, not citizens, or too young for the American army, or too old for the American army, volunteered for service in the Polish army.

Behind both these Polish armies stood and worked the American women of Polish blood, from the grandmothers knitting socks in memory and hope, to the flower-like little children passing coin baskets at a bazaar. The Polish women of America did their quota and more for all the American relief causes.

They also sustained this second army, of kindred spirits, bound to fight in France under the White Eagle of the Polish Republic.

So the Polish communities of our American cities knew of two kinds of farewells for soldiers.

They saw their volunteers and draft men depart for the American camps with other youths of many nationalities. They saw the same scenes that other nationalities witnessed on these occasions.

They also saw the departure of volunteers for the Polish army. They saw the young troopers gather and march solemnly to church, according to the antique custom of Poland in her days of glory. They witnessed in church the unusual ceremony of the Itinerarium for departing warriors. Then these young men went on to the special training camp at Niagara-on-the-Lake, to don the blue uniform of the Polish Army.

And neither American army men nor Polish army men ever knew their kinswomen to fail them in comfort and cheer. They hesitated at no toil, and shrank from no weariness. The young American girl of Polish descent, with her liveliness and her love of laughter and music, went in one spirit with her knitting grandmother, or with the lofty spirit of Mme. Sembrich.

The High Inheritance

THIS spirit is not one "created by the war." It is not the spirit of today only.

The truth is, discernible in all the history of the past, that Polish womanhood has always had its share in the country's life work. The fire of patriotism, the devotion to the country's welfare, the cares of state, have never been matters only for the men of Poland, for the noblemen and the princes.

The reason for this is the foundation of Polish society. It has been previously emphasized in these articles that the whole Polish nation was based upon the freeman and the individual home. In that individual home the women had their place and work—and hence in the larger fields of the state women might have their place and work, if there were things which only women could do.

St. Hedwig, the Twice-Crowned

THE great Polish women of history have not been women forcing their way into public posts. They have been found chiefly in the calmer and quieter spheres. But when the call came to them to assume heavier and harder burdens they did not shrink.

Some European kingdoms have barred women from the throne by the famous Salic law. This law caused bloody wars between France and England. But in Great Britain the right of women to the throne was recognized, ever since Queen Boadicea rallied the Briton tribes against the soldiers of Nero.

So in the Slavic realm of Russia the power of women to rule was established by the early but able reign of Queen Olga in Kiev. And Poland found in the reign of Queen Hedwig, the Saint Jadwiga of the Polish church, an era of advancement and greatness.

A Medieval Ideal

THIS queen has been honored by the patriotism and the piety of her people for four centuries. And yet—just as Napoleon of France was not French but Corsican—just as King Richard I of England was not English but French—so Queen Hedwig of Poland was by birth not Polish but Hungarian.

The year 1384 saw an extraordinary event in Poland. When Casimir the Great was dying, he wished that his nephew, Louis of Hungary, should be chosen king. This was done. Then Louis asked that his daughter Hedwig be chosen queen after his death. And in 1384 this Princess Hedwig was crowned with all the state and honor of the ancient royalty.

This was in the midst of the Hundred Years' War between France and England over the Salic law. And this queen, chosen to the throne of a storm-girt land, was not even a grown woman. She was just 13 years old when, of their own free will and choice, the nobility of Poland called her to the throne.

Those voting nobles were unhampered by determination to subjugate women. Their action is in every way remarkable, for Po-

land had never had a queen as sovereign. Yet all succeeding generations of Poles have rejoiced in their extraordinary decision.

For under Queen Hedwig took place the first union with Lithuania, which was the beginning of Poland's greatest era. She was married to Jagiello of Lithuania, and won him to the Christian faith. From them were descended the Jagellon dynasty of Polish kings—the crowned presidents of the old Polish republic. And when Queen Hedwig died her consort succeeded to the throne. Then took place the decisive struggle of that age with the Teutonic Knights, in which the Prussian menace of the Middle Ages was destroyed by the great battle of Tannenberg.

Poland would have been far less in Europe than she became, if her nobles had not freely crowned this Hedwig. Partly of Polish blood she was, but wholly of Hungarian birth and training. Yet her acceptance of high responsibility, her worth and zeal for her people, are a cherished tradition to Pole and Lithuanian today, just as her renowned beauty is an inspiration to Polish artists.

The successors of St. Hedwig the Queen are the great Polish women of our time, the ardent American patriot girls of Polish descent among us.

They could point back to other grand examples, such as the Countess Zyberk-Plater, who led one revolutionary uprising in Lithuania in the days of oppression. The countess, like the queen, was a lover of home and peace, but did not shrink when called to heavier tasks.

Such are the records of Polish Womanhood, utterly womanly, utterly devoted, and triumphant in faithfulness.

New Freedom in Poland Means Security for Large and Small Neighbor Nations

NAPOLEON THE GREAT was an inspired prophet. It was Napoleon who said, "Europe will become either Cossack or Republican."

He meant that European nations would come to submit to wide autocracy like that of the Czars of Russia, or would unite all nations to preserve Democracy.

This was like foretelling the issues of the Great War.

Another saying of Napoleon has come back to the memory of statesmen since the Great War burst upon the world.

He said: "The Polish Question is the key to the European vault."

True when Napoleon reigned, as it had been true centuries before his birth—this is true now, and will be true for our children.

What Shall "Poland" Mean?

LET us first understand what we shall mean by Poland—what character of nation the New Poland will be.

It will be the nation that produced Chopin, Copernicus, Sienkiewicz, and thus is proved capable of men of the foremost order. But they are not all geniuses of art or letters or science. They are a body of 30,000,000 people, stalwart, sterling, modest, worthy.

Their government will represent definite principles, thus laid down plainly and clearly before all the world by Ignace Jan Paderewski, their representative:

"Poland will be free and so will her inhabitants, as in this majestic and mighty Republic of the United States.

"The democratic Constitution of Poland will assure liberty and equality as to race, religion, or political opinion.

"Catholics, Protestants and Jews will all enjoy equal rights as they will all fulfil equal duties.

"There was, there is, and there will be no oppression of any kind in Poland!"

How Poland Won Her Place

THE nation that upholds this standard in middle Europe can indeed be "the key to the European vault."

If the Czars could have Russianized Poland they would have conquered Germany and ruled the Rhine from Petrograd.

If the Kaisers could have Prussianized Poland they would have conquered Russia and ruled the Neva from Berlin.

Here was the Key which Russian and Prussian tyrants sought to master, and which would have unlocked the vaults of treasure and power.

But no Czar could turn the key, and no Kaiser could move the key. Poland remained, barring both their doors.

The humble, downtrodden, meek and sad Polish people, by merely resisting, by merely keeping the faith, has outlived the imperial ambitions and the imperial houses of Romanoff and Hohenzollern.

It is not by accident that Poland now stands restored among free peoples. It is not because of mere historical sentiment. Poland, during all these years of eclipse, has earned her place.

She raised the standard of Liberty against Autocracy while Napoleon was still a lieutenant of artillery. She raised it again and again, long before Europe knew that the principles for which Poland fought were world-principles.

Now she can give a truer pledge of maintaining those principles in the future, because she has held them firm for all these centuries. She can call her very oppressors from their graves to witness for her. And the free nations, with whom she has fought to the overthrowing of Kaiserism, will add their witness.

The Eternal Bulwark

THE farsighted Allies can see that Poland's future has a meaning for them.

The Allies look on and smile while Gen. Haller takes hold in Danzig, and Paderewski enters Posen.

These cities have been under Prussianism for generations. They contributed mightily to the strength of Prussia. They would contribute in the future to that strength, especially if a revived Poland sends heavy shipments down the Vistula to Danzig, and Danzig is still Prussian.

But the world knows what a strong Prussia has meant. And what the world wants instead is a strong Poland.

Here would be a nation between Prussia and Russia. It would represent neither Czarism nor Kaiserism but would stand opposed to both. It would represent neither Bolshevism nor the Prussian spirit of domination but would stand opposed to both.

On the other hand, if Russia needed help from a strong and kindly neighbor, Poland would be her helper as she was in former centuries. And if Prussia needed guidance in the unwonted pathways of democracy, Poland could be her leader as she was in former centuries.

At the same time, if either Russia or Prussia submitted to reaction, and became again the old time autocracies, Poland would not fall back. She would keep the faith as in former centuries.

Poland, enthroned in her people, would represent in eastern Europe the ideals of Great Britain and France and the United States. She would be the friend of Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, Ukraina, Finland, Greater Italy, Greater Greece, and of any other nation self-determined on independent action.

She would be indeed the key to Europe. She would be rather like the gate of the Temple of Janus in Rome, which was shut in time of peace. She could hold fast the doors on all wars that threatened democracy.

The Vaster

Future

THE Poles predict an early unity of the old boundaries of the Kingdom of Poland, with 20,000,000 to 30,000,000 inhabitants.

But some of them have formed already a grand dream for the future, based on the self-determination of peoples.

They hope for a time in the future when the Republic of Poland will include all of the old Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which was

united to Poland under the Jagellon dynasty, and remained united to her until the destruction of Polish liberties.

They have hopes also for a share of their old, old territories in Silesia and Pomerania.

They do not expect these additions by force and arms, but by self-determination of peoples.

The Lithuanians, for example, are disturbed by a movement for an entirely independent Lithuania. At the same time this Gen. Pilsudski, Polish military dictator at Warsaw, is a Lithuanian; as was also the renowned Kosciuszko. Thus there is already a strong Lithuanian movement for unity.

The Poles declare for self-determination. If the Lithuanians, the Letts, the people of Courland and Esthonia and other lands, wish to establish separate republics, the Polish Republic will greet them gladly. But the Polish Republic expects that in time these republics will add themselves to her, as Texas and Hawaii added themselves to the United States of America.

There are other Slavic prophets who foresee an even wider and greater union of states. They look to the east, and see the vast territories inhabited by Ukrainians and Ruthenians joining themselves freely to the future Great Republic.

For in many of these provinces Polish is known everywhere, and spoken everywhere, and Polish music and poetry are enjoyed by all these nationalities. The Poles point back to former centuries when these different races were federated, and point to the future with exalted hopes.

The Key and the Door

THE peace table will look on these questions far differently from the way peace congresses usually look on territorial issues.

At all previous peace tables it was to the interest of each government to keep the other governments as weak as possible.

This was the principle which governed even the settlement of the Balkan war by the Congress of London. The determination to repress the growing power of dangerous nations was the whole

cause of the coalitions against Louis XIV, and Frederick the Great, and Napoleon.

If the peace table were to consider making empires or kingdoms stronger in their royal dominion, the conference would wrangle forever.

But this peace table has a very different duty. Its work is not to add to autocracies, but to democracies. And therefore it is to the interests of the world's peace to make each free people as powerful in freedom as possible.

Living Again

THEREFORE no one fears that the peace conference will draw the map and cast the charter for a Weak Poland.

It will be a Great Poland again. It will be the Poland which dwelt peaceable among her rivers long before any of the latter dynasties of Europe were enthroned. It will be the Poland which has seen the downfall of all the royalties that oppressed her, and which bears witness to the truth that a Free People never dies.

The Keys of Liberty

GREAT Poland has learned many lessons since the conspiring tyrants rent her fair dominion to pieces.

She has learned from her own past that she needs unity and co-operation. Indeed, the nobility of the old time learned when it was too late that their great privileges had endangered the freedom of their country. Therefore the nobility themselves were the first to propose, as far back as 1791, that in the Poland of the future their privileges should be curtailed.

Today, it is the nobility, even the descendants of the old kingly families, who join with the sons of peasants to proclaim a universal democracy in Poland. This Gen. Pilsudski, raised to a generalship because he was a political leader of a workingmen's party, came of a princely line.

And what Poland has learned best is that her own service in

this war is due to her democracy. The service of every nation that served humanity was due to their democracy.

If the Poles had not remained freemen, of independent souls, the Russian Poles would have unitedly obeyed the Czar, and the Prussian Poles would have fought for the Kaiser, and all the Austrians Poles for Vienna. Not one would have fought for Poland. Not one would have fought for democracy.

And Poland can look about her and realize that it was the democracy of Czecho-Slovakia that made the Czecho-Slovaks an Allied Nation even in the middle of Teutonic empires. It was the spirit of democracy in Serbia that enabled her to resist the guns of Franz-Josef.

Turkey bowed to the lowering Teuton lords, and Turkey is gone—Arabia resisted, and Arabia is free.

So Poland knows it was Democracy that saved her. Democracy alone can maintain her. She will keep the faith.

"Peace on Earth"

FOR the first time since King Frederick the Great of Prussia meditated the Great Conspiracy of the First Partition the bells of Christmas rang a real message of peace from Danzig to Wilna, and from Cracow to Warsaw, and from Lemberg to Kiev.

Great sorrows and great wars have followed in the wake of that great crime. The past unveils to us the mournful sight of cities in flames under the ravages of Suwarrow, of Napoleon retreating from Moscow on the long road that led finally to Waterloo. Now at last, with the slowness with which humanity learns its great lessons, we come to understand the words of the American poet:

"A question is never settled
Until it is settled right."

Now that it is settled right, it is settled forever. Self-determination will solve all the questions which wars have created—

All crimes shall cease, and ancient Fraud shall fail,
Returning Justice lift aloft her scale—
Peace o'er the world its olive wand extend,
And white-robed Innocence from heaven descend!

Great Statesmen of Past and Present Agreed on Meaning of Polish Problem

MUCH has been said by the wisest statesmen of our day in behalf of justice for Poland.

Poland's enemies might say that this is a sentiment shaped in the fires of war, that it is not cool judgment but the passionate wrath of the democracies against the autocracy of Prussia.

But the past illuminates this as it illuminates many other phases of the problem of Poland.

The wise men of our day are merely repeating for us what the wise men of former times have said. The statesmen of today speak to ready audiences, while the far-sighted ones of a former generation spoke to deaf ears and hardened hearts.

Great Was Talleyrand

NOW rises before us a strange and portentous figure, called Talleyrand, whose name was Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Perigord.

Almost superhumanly great was this man. Far from admirable in soul, he was incredibly wise in the things of statecraft. Wherever he served he shone. Wherever honors were bestowed he won them.

He first was in the church as a French abbé, then became Bishop of Autun, in the days before the French Revolution. In that Revolution he was elected a deputy to the states-general. He followed a course marked by brilliant ability, but was excommunicated from the church. Then under the Revolution, under the Directorate, under Napoleon, under Louis XVIII, Charles X, Louis Phillippe, he served in the highest and most responsible posts.

He negotiated the chief treaties of Napoleon's days of glory—yet he saw the danger of Napoleon's Russian and Spanish campaigns, and opposed them. He established the German Confed-

eration of the Rhine, and helped to frame the Concordat between the Vatican and France. He brought back the Bourbon kings to France when Napoleon fell, and at the Congress of Vienna in 1815 he succeeded in keeping France intact though some of Napoleon's conquerors hoped to despoil her.

Under many governments, under three dynasties, he was minister of foreign affairs and a foreign ambassador. In his own day everyone recognized his supreme sagacity.

Great was Talleyrand. But he said no wiser, no truer thing, than when he rose from the Peace Table of the Congress of Vienna in 1815, and said:

"The Poles no longer have a common country. But they have a common language. They will remain, then, united by the strongest and most durable of all bonds. They will arrive, under foreign domination, to the age of manhood. And the moment they reach that age will not be far from that in which, emancipated, they will all be attached once more to one center."

Wisdom

Unheeded

TALLEYRAND was not heard when he warned Napoleon not to invade Spain, not to invade Russia. Napoleon lived to declare that the invasion of Spain was the blunder of his career. Historians have agreed that the retreat from Moscow marked the irredeemable decline of Napoleon's glory.

So the great powers which ruled over Poland, which had conquered Napoleon, did not heed Talleyrand's words on the prostrate kingdom.

Prussia proposed to Prussianize Poland, Russia to Russianize, Austria to Austrianize.

But Talleyrand expressed in 1815 all that the historian of present-day Poland could write in 1918.

He saw, as we now see, that Poland would not stifle under these alien masters. She would grow! Today we can say that she has grown! Her people are at the full stature of modern democracy. And they are still "united by the strongest and most durable of all bonds," the language of the statutes of Casimir, the

language of the battlecries of Sobieski, of the poems of Mickiewicz.

What the great statesman, the great cold-hearted statesman of 1815 predicted, the warm-blooded statesmen of democracy in 1918 have affirmed.

The Wickedest

Folly

THE despoilers of Poland might have expected sympathy or praise from the minister of the conquering Napoleon, the man who planned the Peace of Tilsit between Napoleon and the czar.

Talleyrand was born when Poland was an unbroken unity. When he died Poland was a mere memory of suffering and wrong and blood. Here was a conquest indeed, was it not? But Talleyrand said, at that same Congress of Vienna:

"The partition of Poland was worse than a crime—it was a folly."

We know, of course, that no folly can be worse than a crime. But Talleyrand judged things by their wisdom. He saw through all the apparent triumph of the conspirators over Poland. At the completest hour of triumph for Poland's enemies, he said, "It is a folly."

We would say today that it was first of all a crime. But we know also that all crime is folly. We say of any captured burglar, any doomed murderer, that he was foolish. But Talleyrand said this of great kings and emperors when they were fresh from loot and rich with booty.

Maria

Theresa

LET us now cite another witness, one of the old school of Divine Right of Monarchs. Let us think of the words of Maria Theresa, who ruled for 40 years over Austria, Hungary and Bohemia. It is recorded against her that she took part in the First Partition of Poland in 1772.

Did she then rejoice in her increased dominion? Did she pardon herself by some argument that Poland was verging toward anarchy, as some defenders of Frederick the Great have asserted? She was wiser than most queens or most kings, was Maria Theresa, and her words must have weight.

"When I have long been dead," she declared, "the consequences of this violation of all that until now has been deemed holy and just, will be experienced."

Maria Theresa saw at last the wickedness of that conspiracy. She also saw the inevitable consequences. She had held her throne by the free rallying of her people to her support, particularly the nobles of Hungary. She could see that the time would come when these Poles would not rally to the support of the Hapsburg ruler. Perhaps she imagined a time when a revolted Polish general of the Austrian forces would be in Danzig, and another in Cracow—as at the present moment!

A Distant View

THUS spoke the arch-diplomat. Thus lamented the guilty queen. Now let us turn to a more distant figure, a Scottish philosopher who became a judge in the courts of Bombay, India.

From a far distance, and with a judicial and philosophical mind, Sir James Mackintosh made a study of the partitions of Poland. He died in 1832. His words could do nothing to stop the fatal trespass of the czars and kaisers. But he could bring them to the general bar of human justice, and foreshadow their doom.

This is the decision of the Philosopher judge, which reads strangely like a document which might have been written in 1918, when the world is more aroused to justice:

"Till the first partition, the sacredness of ancient possessions, the right of the people to their own soil, were universally regarded as the guardian principles of European independence."

What is this but the self-determination of peoples?

Sir James continues:

"These principles gained through strength from that progress of civilization which they protected and secured; and the violation of them seemed to be effectually precluded by the jealousies of great states and the wise co-operation of the smaller communities.

"But in the case of Poland, a nation was robbed of its ancient territory without the pretense of any wrong which could justify war, without even those forms of war which could bestow on the acquisition the name of conquest. It was not an attack on the balance. It was an attack on national independence itself.

"No single cause has contributed so much as the partition of Poland to alienate mankind from ancient institutions and loosen their respect for established governments. . . . Philip II and Louis XIV often violated the law of nations; but the spoilers of Poland overthrew it."

When Justice Returns

HOW natural it is that Poland shall be restored at a time when the world is discussing a League of Nations, to unite all powers in certain principles of action.

The law of Nations would have been ruined forever by the kaiser. The triumph of democracy restores that law. Then the democratic nations naturally look back into the past, to find all other crimes which the House of Hohenzollern has committed against this law of nations. Inevitably, Poland secures restitution as a part of the punishment of the criminal.

The Past Informs Us

THE history of Poland, as has been said before, is a History Interrupted. We see the nation picking up the broken threads of its life. We see the nation resuming its old, old post of honor and responsibility as a champion of democracy.

And likewise, we see the statesmen of Poland and other nations discuss her once more as a nation. They also resume the discussion as it was interrupted:

The statesmanship and wisdom of former years, which the three emperors would not follow, no longer asks the emperors to follow. The emperors are dethroned, and Justice makes known her will in the form of commands.

There are many opinions on some disputed issues of history, and one can select the opinion that pleases him. But there is only one opinion about the wrongs of Poland, and that opinion is here cited from a French diplomat, from an Austrian archduchess, and a British jurist. This would also be the opinion of every other lover of justice.

The Simple Task

THIS will do much to make easy the labor of reconstructing Poland. The statesmen are not planning an arbitrary, artificial task. They propose a simple work of fundamental human justice.

They know just what should be done. If they did not, they could learn by looking over the records of the past.

It does not matter what the statesmen read. They may read the apologies and explanations offered by defenders of the conspirators. They may read attacks on Poland by agents of her oppressors and persecutors. Or they may read the impartial words of outsiders. All point plainly to a simple task. It is a task which will almost perform itself, when once the people of the Vistula have been called upon to determine their own destiny.

America's Millions of Polish Descent Take Pride in Four Centuries of Noblest Service

JAN KOLNOSKI is not a name blazoned in the chronicles of Polish historians. This name is not recorded by the writers of America's story. Another distant land glories in the tradition of his achievements, and a different tongue records the cloudy rumors of his career.

The history of warlike Denmark rings with the name of the mighty Christian the First, of the Fifteenth century. King Christian was the founder of the royal line of Oldenburg, and reigned at one time over Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Schleswig, Holstein.

In the year 1476, according to some Danish and Dutch books, one John of Kolno, a native of the Masovia district in Poland, sailed under the Danish flag from the Polish port of Dantzic. He crossed the Atlantic and rounded the frowning coast of Labrador.

This was in 1476, while Columbus was dwelling in Portugal with his young bride and their infant son Diego. It was 15 years before the glorious Genoese was to make the final triumphant discovery of America.

No one seems assured as to just what activity Columbus showed in those years. There are some who say he made voyages to the coast of Africa, others who relate that he visited Iceland. And none can be sure how real was the reported voyage of this John of Kolno, though Denmark was then an adventurous nation under a king of masterful enterprise.

Yet the tradition of John of Kolno remains, thrilling with distant fascination. For it links our American history from a time just before the dawn, with the history of the chivalrous medieval Kingdom-Republic of Poland. Though the tradition is only a tradition, it draws a new chord of sympathy between the living American Republic and the Republic which was slain; but now has been restored to life and action.

The Poland of 1476 was the Poland of King Casimir IV, who gained control of Prussia after a fourteen years' war with the Teutonic Knights. Thus he possessed Danzig, even as the new Republic of Poland will include that fair free city.

The Poles of Colonial Days

THOUGH Jan Kolnoski is a shadowy figure, the first brave settlements of white men on the Atlantic coast included Polish pioneers who were not shadows. Yet they are found, like John of Kolno, and like their 4,000,000 successors in America today, engaged in service.

In the seventeenth century another link is found to unite America and Poland. Old Poland took pride that her nation formed the first national commission on education in the world, and is enriched by some of the oldest universities in Europe. In the year 1659 Dutch pioneers on Manhattan island employed a school teacher, and that teacher was a Pole.

Three years later there came to New Jersey one Albert Zaborowski. He was a man trusted by whites and natives, and his name is entered as that of an official interpreter. He inherited some fine talents, for in his veins was the blood of King John Sobieski of Poland, the deliverer of Europe.

From this Albert Zaborowski came descendants worthy of his illustrious ancestry, worthy of the old republic of Poland and the new republic of the United States. Chancellor Zabriskie of New Jersey, Dean George Gray of Harvard are descendants of this Polish freeman. And there are strains of the same fine blood, according to Miss Emily Green Balch of Wellesley, in the American families of Astor, Bayard, Jay, Morrison and Gouverneur Morris.

Advance Posts of Liberty

VIRGINIA, New Jersey and other states have colonial Polish records.

The whole of our middle west, in the days of Queen Anne's war, is touched by the memory of the Sodowski family. A descendant, James Sodowski, made one of the first settlements in Kentucky in 1774. His brother, Jacob Sodowski, was the first pioneer, after the French explorers, to go down the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans.

Some say Sandusky in Ohio is named after the Sodowskis. Their lives bring us close to the eve of the Revolution. This recalls again the valiant figures of Kosciuszko and Pulaski, and the historian Niemcewicz, who wrote a Polish life of Washington as an inspiration to the lovers of liberty in Poland.

The Earliest Refugees

THUS Poland in her days of freedom and in her days of partial freedom sent her sons to serve this land.

From the first days until now the Poles have never been exploiters, nor great amassers of wealth. Ignace Jan Paderewski was able to make the startling statement that among 4,000,000 Poles in America there is not one millionaire.

The sons of Free Poland or Imperial Poland crossed the ocean to serve us. But after Poland lost her liberty came a new type of men, asking a shelter, illustrious refugees from the Revolution of 1831.

These early pioneers endured privation. Men of noble birth or professional life worked as street laborers in New York. At last Congress granted them lands in the west, not wholly unlike their lost land of rivers and farms. There they merged one by one into the American Nation.

All Faiths in Harmony

SOME illuminating facts shine out in the early records. In the fifties the first Poles settled in Texas, and a few years afterward in Wisconsin and Michigan.

In 1863, subscriptions were raised in New York for the Revolution then raging. Among the subscribers, according to a Polish newspaper of that early day, were Poles of the faith of John Sobieski, and "Poles of the faith of Moses."

These men "of the faith of Moses" were thought of as Poles as well as Jews. The Polish people do not forget to this day the noble share the Jews of their country have had in the struggles for liberty.

Polish patriots of all faiths honor the memory of Colonel Berek Joselowicz, who raised a Jewish regiment under Kosciuszko, a regiment which fully shared the glory of that valiant struggle.

To this day Polish-Americans recognize and offer honors to all men of true Polish-American feeling. On the board of directors of the Polish National Alliance, the strongest of American Polish organizations, sits Mr. N. Zlotnicki, a Polish American citizen of the Jewish faith.

These ancient and modern facts demonstrate the harmony which the historic liberty of Poland makes possible between all faiths.

This the New Poland pledges herself to establish between faithful men of all religions.

Gentiles and Jews, Catholics and Protestants, Trinitarians and Unitarians, are found in all the great records of Poland's past.

They **are found** together in all her sad and bloody pages of battle.

They **are found together** in the councils of New Poland.

They **were found** together even among the American pioneers—Polish Catholics and Polish Jews in New York, and a colony of Polish Protestants along the Raritan River.

The Great Migration

THIS same spirit was voiced by John F. Smulski of Chicago, president of the National Polish department, in an address in 1918, when he said:

"Our cause is too great for petty dissensions. It is too SACRED by reason of the blood shed by the boys in the Polish and the American armies in France!"

Mr. Smulski speaks today not for a few people of Polish descent, the children of the few lonely pioneers of the early American centuries. For today we stand on the other side of the Great Polish Migration, which saw thousands of Polish men and women issuing forth from 1870 to 1910, to many lands throughout the world.

And when the all Polish convention of America met in Detroit in August, Ignace Jan Paderewski was able to declare: "The

Poles in America are more numerous than the Norwegians in Norway, the Danes in Denmark, the Swedes in Sweden, the Serbs in Serbia, or the Belgians in Belgium!"

Then M. Paderewski showed how still the spirit of service to this country reigns in the hearts of these Four Million. Polish miners in Philadelphia subscribed \$11,000,000 to one Liberty Loan. The Polish casualty lists are three times the proportion of the nationality in the country, because the Polish volunteers outnumbered all others and their exemption pleas under the draft law were the fewest in proportion.

The blood and treasure of these 4,000,000 Poles have been poured out like water. It is their pride that the first American to die in France was a Polish-American. It was their glory to see the representative Polish-Americans on the side of the Allies even before Germany forced this nation into the war. But in the great record of the 350,000 Polish-Americans in the army and navy, in the great record of the home support for the Liberty Loan and the Red Cross and all other war activities, the 4,000,000 Americans of Polish blood have merely fulfilled the purpose of their lives, a purpose of service to their country, the United States.

New Books for Old

BOOKS on the new immigration, written before the war, discussed the future Americanism of different European nationalities as "a problem." It has long been remarked that Polish-Americans now inhabit great farm sections of classic New England, as well as Pennsylvania mountain regions, Texas prairies, and both farms and great cities in the Middle West.

There are perhaps one thousand cities and villages in the United States which are inhabited chiefly by Americans of Polish blood. These also were discussed as "a problem."

But there is no longer a problem. The war has proved it. Not even in the days of 1776 was there a more thrilling response of patriotism through the New England farmlands than came from the Polish-Americans of New England in 1917.

Pennsylvania saw no greater patriotism in the days of Independence Hall and the Declaration of Independence than her Polish communities showed.

Texas knows red-blooded Americanism from the fiery days of Gen. Houston, and she saw it again in the descendants of the Polish pioneers of the fifties.

Chicago, Detroit, Milwaukee and other old fortress towns, scarred by Indian wars, saw her Polish-Americans rally to the trumpet call as the old blockhouse defenders rallied when the savages were at the doors.

Every Polish community in the United States was another fortress of strength for this republic. Every Polish community poured forth beloved sons and brothers, poured out treasure of hard-earned savings.

As the Fathers Fought

THIS they did for America. These young inheritors of de-1830 exiles fought in the Civil war, as their brothers fought; democracy marched forth to fight as the descendants of the- in the Spanish war.

They marched forth to strengthen America, to strengthen Democracy, to die if need be that America and Democracy might live. And by strengthening America and France and Great Britain and all Democracy, they accomplished the holy dream of their fathers, and strengthened the Polish Democracy to cast off all the nightmare of prolonged oppression!

Americanism in Action

THE spirit of the American soldiers of every nationality is still the spirit of all patriots. And the spirit of all patriotism is what moved the National Polish Department in all its work for the New Poland, the Free Poland.

The American National Polish Department consists of Americans, working as Americans. They have no divided loyalty, but are true to America and humanity. They realize that the up-building of a strong Democracy in Eastern Europe is a great aid to America, and the extension of American ideals of freedom throughout the world.

These Americans of Polish blood, represented in the Polish National Department and all loyal organizations of Polish democracy, see no strange and alien land yonder. They see a grand soil for the replanting of these American ideals of liberty. They see a new, noble, powerful nation arising as a new guardian of the human race, a new guarantor of world co-operation.

Poland's past glories cannot be fully told in many books. Her present needs cannot be recounted in many words.

We see the Polish-American organizations, before the burden of war was lifted, pledging themselves to raise \$10,000,000 for the aid of the Polish Republic.

We hear now new appeals from Poland, the Great Land of Suffering and Need, the greatest and the least-relieved sufferer from the war's ravages. And we see Americans of Polish descent rushing to this work as if they had not already toiled for four years for the Allies.

But they do all these things, for Poland and for humanity, as Americans. It has been the grand and pathetic destiny of the Poles to serve and to suffer. It is the grand destiny of America to serve and to triumph. The descendants of many generations of suffering servants of humanity now share rejoicingly in the Service Triumphant.

New Poland Pledges Her Record of Honor to Maintain World-Liberty Safe Forever

TODAY the Sister Democracies of the world are gazing toward the Future with eager and expectant eyes.

They see new advances of Liberty, coming swiftly like a tropical dawn.

Each one of the Free Nations, from the vast and powerful United States to the tiny and true republic of San Marino in Italy, rejoices in hopes for the future.

And each one has also made some pledges to the future of humanity, from imperial Great Britain in the midst of the oceans to Free Arabia in the midst of the desert. •

Before the Peace Congress adjourns we shall know all that each nation asks for its future.

We shall know of ancient freeholds that must be restored to robbed republics, as Alsace-Lorraine must be restored to France. We shall know of nations, divided by tyrants' swords, who must be reunited, as the divided races of Czecho-Slovakia.

But we shall also hear what each free nation promises her Sister Democracies. What pledge will each make for the future of peace and of liberty?

Each in its own tongue will naturally pledge individual freedom, and religious liberty, and education, and faithfulness to treaties. Each will show that it is prepared for a new rivalry among nations, a rivalry of Enlightenment.

Among those Sister Democracies Poland will appear, like a country released from prison, delivered from slavery.

Poland, too, will ask many things from the united powers of democracy. She will claim long-delayed justice. She has suffered every wrong, every robbery. She has not lost her national life—but she has been left as one dead.

So Poland will make her claims. But she, too, will make her pledges.

She will promise what she will do for her own people, those of Polish and alien blood, those of all races and all faiths who may take residence within her liberated borders.

The Untarnished Honor

THE United States of Poland can first of all claim the right to be believed. Though she has been almost a dead nation, she has never been a dishonored one. Though she had great victories and great defeats, she has been neither a tyrant nor a poltroon.

She must point back behind the cloud of 130 years of oppression, and say, "I will maintain the ideals I then maintained, and will uphold all the enlightenment which these 130 years have brought to humanity!"

She does not have to turn back and explain any violated treaties, for she did not violate treaties. Her people can therefore look to have the confidence of the free peoples of the earth.

Poland has not had to explain any history of protracted religious persecutions, because she was not guilty of them.

Poland has not had to explain any oppression of weaker nations, for she added new provinces to herself as provinces of free-men.

She can answer today any enemy that might arise, whether it were the Russian Czar or the German Kaiser or the Austrian Kaiser. She can meet any attack from discomfited enemies by pointing calmly to her record of centuries.

In ages of oppression, when Poland was victorious, she did not oppress. Then no land will be freer than Poland in an age when all the world is free.

In ages of persecution, when religious controversies arose, Poland did not persecute. Then no land will have larger liberty of thought and opinion in the days when all the world is a world of liberty.

Keeping the Faith

WHEN Poland had power and wealth, so that emperors courted her kings, and kings sought the friendship even of Poland's noblemen, Poland led in the march of liberty.

When Poland had great armies they marched to free oppressed

cities from the Teutonic Knights. Or they marched to save Russia from Tartar tyrants. Or they hastened to deliver Vienna from the almost-triumphant Turk. She fought for liberty for a thousand years.

And after Poland was dismembered, her sons still rallied armies—to fight again for liberty.

Through all these generations of sorrow the whole nation, silently or in armed ranks, has been fighting for liberty. Fighting with prayers, fighting with books, fighting with political organizations, they battled up to the breaking out of the Great War and all through the Great War for the ideals of their fathers.

A nation that has kept the faith of democracy like this will keep it forever. A people which has remained a people of freedom under the blighting reign of Czars and Kaisers will teach more freedom to the world under her own President.

It is a New Republic that now forms yonder—but an Old Nation. It is the same nation of freemen that dwelt serenely upon the Vistula centuries before the German settled near Berlin, and many centuries before the foundations of Petrograd were laid in the swamps of the Neva.

And now she is free—for what? Free merely to realize the ideals that have kept her alive. Free merely to fulfill the old liberties of Poland, and enrich them with all the new freedom of the Golden Age of Democracy.

What Poland Will Give

WE KNOW that the Great Britain of the future will build on her ancient freedom a nobler edifice of human liberty.

We know that the United States is like a nation re-born to gigantic strength, determined to realize with grander enterprise all that the future has for a fearless and chainless people.

So it will be with France, and Italy, and Brazil, and Palestine, and all the others, each in its own sphere. So will it be with the United States of Poland.

Poland is today the Land of Thanksgiving—the Land of Gratitude—the Land of Loyalty. She will indeed repay all Humanity

for what the nations which saved Humanity have done for Poland.

We shall see a Poland full of schools, inheriting and again bequeathing the cream of the ancient Polish culture, with all that world-culture which is shared today by enlightened peoples.

Poland, in distant centuries, before the telescope was invented, produced a Copernicus, the founder of modern astronomy, who discovered the great secrets of the solar system. Then, in the future, when Poland has her own system of universal education, what great world-minds of coming ages will have their first nurture in those schools?

Poland, under the blighting rule of Russia, produced in our own time a Mme. Curie in science, a Paderewski in music, a Sienkiewicz in letters.

When Poland is free, when her own ancient universities are untrammelled and her sons of genius need not flee abroad, what wonderful men and women will such a people produce!

The greater and better world of the future cannot have too much music, and art, and literature, too much of the lofty and ideal. Poland has furnished these to the world in centuries of sorrow. She will give the world untold treasures in centuries of joy.

Poland Delivered

POLAND is not living in the past. But the greatness of her past sustains her.

She asks of her Sister Democracies co-operation and unity of spirit. She gives them co-operation and unity of spirit.

Every enlightenment gained by any nation will be recognized by the New Poland, and every advance she makes in the march of humanity will be used to help all humanity forward.

She must ask of more powerful and more fortunate states the support of their strength. This is for the cause of all humanity. For if Poland is not sustained, new autocracies led by Czars or Kaisers or Anarchists, may again rise up in Eastern Europe.

And in return Poland pledges to all humanity—Service. For if Humanity is not served constantly by every Free Nation, if all

the Free Nations do not forever faithfully serve one another, Freedom itself may perish.

The Victory of the Ages

HOW America rejoiced that the war of 20 months was won! How Britain and France rejoiced that the war of more than four years was won! And how these nations have pledged themselves to greater liberty and larger achievements!

But Poland can rejoice that a struggle for liberty of nearly 150 years has been won! She can rejoice, indeed, that battles between Polish freedom and Teutonic tyranny which date back for nearly 10 centuries have finally ended in the triumph of right.

And Poland will be worthy of the victory of the ages, like Bohemia, and Armenia, and that ancient and regenerated land of Palestine. All these, like all these modern powers of America and France and Britain and Italy, have suffered together, and have gained a common treasure of deliverance.

Vistula to Mississippi

THE future aims of Poland are only what the past aims of her patriots have been.

For these things the descendants of the old Polish patriots in all parts of the world have been fighting.

Every generation fighting for liberty in every land has seen its Polish volunteers joining the great cause. So in all lands of the world Poles marched to help win the war for the new cause of France and Belgium and America, the old cause of Poland.

This is why French citizens, though of Polish descent, could aid Poland, and felt that in fighting for France they were fighting for their kingdom on the Vistula. They knew that a great free republic beyond Germany would strengthen French liberty and all liberty.

France was and is the country of these French Poles. But their love of liberty was Polish, and they wished to see Poland free as well as France, and Belgium, and distant Palestine.

And because of the deathless Polish ideals, the 4,000,000 Americans of Polish descent have helped to serve their country, the United States, whenever they have been able to champion the cause of Poland.

They have seen that a victory for Democracy anywhere is a victory for this nation. They have seen that the firm establishment of democracy anywhere establishes more firmly our American democracy. The building up of a powerful Polish republic yonder strengthens every republic, and strengthens ours.

The Fusion of the War

THE fires of the war have strangely welded the peoples into one Federation of Humanity. There is one spirit expressed in many tongues.

This is the result of the Common Cause, defended in a Common Peril, upheld through Common Suffering, sustained in world-wide battles to the consummation of the Common Victory.

And now all nations of freemen face victorious the Common Future. We are still fused into one—yet each nation is self-determined, each nation chose its place.

The wide ranks and files of the Free People blend into one across the world, as they were merged in the trenches and fleets, Americans, British, French, Belgians, Italians, Serbians, Czechs, Poles—and all the others. Thus in one spirit they faced war with all its horrors. Thus in one spirit they wait the blessings of peace.

Then, if anyone asks, Where stands Poland? Poland stands with France and Great Britain and the United States and Italy and all the others, and advances with all the rejoicing democracies toward the brightness of Liberty's morning. She whose sons so often blest the nations with deliverance, now has received that blessing back a thousand fold. And she advances toward the brightness of Liberty's morning, with her 30,000,000 people joined in the world-wide brotherhood of freemen, guided as ever by the eternal Fatherhood of God.

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The new Poland,



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